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CHALLENGES OF CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN 21ST

CENTURY AFRICA: THE ROLE OF CHINA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Adhere Cavince Otieno, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for any academic award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to those who believe in the sanctity of human rights and those who labour to engender democratic spirit around the world in order to afford all humans peace, stability and shared prosperity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APRM   Africa Peer Review Mechanism

AUCA: African Union Constitutive Act

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CADF: China-Africa Development Fund

CAP: China Africa Policy

CMC: Chinese Ministry of Commerce

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

FOCAC: China–Africa Cooperation

IBHR   International Bill of Human Rights

ICC: International Criminal Court

OAU   Organization of Africa Unity

PRC: People's Republic of China.

SAJOREC: Sino-African Joint Research Centre

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN: United Nations

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

USA   United States of America

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from centuries' effort of articulation and consolidation, the two concepts of democratic governance and human rights are seen more as irreducible set of values or ideals that should accrue to humanity, irrespective of geographical positioning. In Africa for example, the two ideals have formed linchpins of continental discussions, finding their way into governance frameworks such as the African Union Constitutive Act (AUCA) as well as the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. The AU in 2015 adopted a development blueprint, Africa Agenda 2063, in which the two ideals are identified as cornerstones for continental stability, peace and economic prosperity. China, which does not comply with global norms related to democracy and respect to human rights is increasing its global power pie; partly manifested by Beijing's deepening relations with Africa. As an influential global player, China's foreign policy towards Africa in which sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs is emphasized could inadvertently fuel erosion of democratic ideals, and consequently legitimize undemocratic governance in the continent. This forms the heart and soul of the study. Premised on a broader objective to determine factors shaping democratic governance in 21st Century Africa including the role of China, the study also examined the drivers of the blossoming relations between China and Africa. Anchored on the Marxist theory and operationalized through cross-sectional design, the study was guided by three main hypotheses: China is not the only impediment to the practice of democratic governance in Africa; China's non-interference policy in internal affairs of African countries impedes the practice and consolidation of democratic governance and development in the continent; and 21st Century Sino-African relation is driven by economic, political, security and ideological factors. The study found out that democratic practice and respect to human rights in Africa is shaped by a number of factors: poverty, foreign intervention, ethnicity, personal rule, corruption, terrorism and climate change. The study revealed that the blossoming Sino-African relations is driven by economic, political, security, diplomatic and ideological factors. China's investments in Africa alongside infrastructural developments, economic aid, human capacity building and trade, peacekeeping and fight against terrorism in Africa, has contributed in significant ways to development in the continent; a desirable result of democratic governance and protection of human rights. On the other hand, China's non-interference policy is fueling erosion of human rights and democratic governance in the continent by legitimizing ills such as corruption, authoritarianism, violation of labour rights and environmental degradation. Arising from the findings, first, the study recommends that national, regional and global partners should enhance their efforts towards democratic governance in the continent. Secondly, African governments should pool and pull together in order to effectively engage China for further benefits to the continent. It is in the interest of China to use its leverage and push for democratic governance in Africa in order to secure sustainability for its investments in the continent. On the academic front, since the study only examined Sino-Africa relations in the backdrop of democratic governance, there remains many aspects of the engagement that require inquiry; something that future research can take on. In addition, the dominant theories of international relations do not adequately address the phenomenon of Sino-African relations. There is therefore need for additional academic work on theory building towards better understanding of the subject.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the Study

The twin concepts of democratic governance and respect to human rights have defined international relations for centuries. From the Cyrus Cylinder[1] to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[2], the people of the world have nursed a desire to consolidate a people centered and responsive governance paradigms that protects, preserves and enhances human rights while guaranteeing development for all. The United Nations has listed the concepts among the issues of greatest consequence to humanity in the 21st Century alongside climate change, sustainable development, and terrorism.[3]

This is in realization that the two concepts cannot be isolated; that nurturing one leads to the realization of the other. Indeed, it was under the depravity that defined human experience following the debilitating impact of World War II,[4] that advocacy for democracy and respect for human rights gained momentum.

The agitation for human rights and promotion of democratic governance have been guiding principles in the operations of the UN; effectively ushering the concept under the purview of international law.[5]

Seen together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the frameworks constitute the International Bill of Human Rights (IBHR).

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[1]"The Cyrus Cylinder.". The British Museum. Accessed September 29, 2017. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1.

[2] "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", *United Nations.* April 25, 2017. http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

[3] "Global Issues: Governance", *United Nations*. April 20, 2017. http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/governance/

[4]Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 5 (2005): 1373-411. doi:10.1086/428442.

[5] Reisman, W. Michael. "Sovereignty and Human Rights in Contemporary International Law." *The American Journal of International Law* 84, no. 4 (1990): 866-76. doi:10.2307/2202838.

In Africa, the struggle for independence from colonial domination was premised on the need for self-governance and restoration of the rights and dignity of African people.[6] This has seen an implosion of various mechanisms and institutions aimed at enhancing democratic governance and respect to human rights in the continent. Various countries have dedicated specific constitutional articles to the pursuit of human rights. Chapter Four of the Kenya Constitution 2010, for instance, is aptly titled "the Bill of Rights," and espouses in Article 19(2) as follows:

> The purpose of recognizing and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms is to preserve the dignity of individuals and communities and to promote social justice and the realization of the potential of all human beings.

At the continental level, the African Union (AU) and its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have all endeavored to promote and protect human and people's rights through good governance and the rule of law. The founding OAU Charter and the Constitutive Act[7] of the African Union are unanimous on the role of the two doctrines in fostering continental peace, integration, socio-economic and political progress.

In 2003, the AU founded the Peace and Security Council (PSC) with one of the mandates to: promote and encourage good governance, democratic practices and the rule of law; protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law as part of efforts to prevent conflicts.[8]

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[6]Josiah A. M. Cobbah. "African Values and the Human Rights Debate: An African Perspective." *Human Rights Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (1987): 309-31. doi:10.2307/761878.

[7] "Constitutive Act", *African Union.* April 21, 2017. https://www.au.int/web/en/constitutive-act

[8] "Peace and Security Council", *African Union.* April 21, 2017. https://www.au.int/web/en/organs/psc

Read together with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights,[9] these instruments and organs show overwhelming desire of the continent to foster an environment in which respect, protection and preservation of human rights is the norm rather than the exception.

Besides these measures, there exists dozens of civil society groups, governments and multilateral institutions dedicated to the promotion and consolidation of democracy and respect of human rights in the continent; further lending credence to the pivotal place of the two concepts in in a well-functioning, peaceful and prosperous society.

Such institutions include the African Court of Human and Peoples Rights - set up through a protocol in 1998 to render opinion on violations of human rights in the continent; and the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), a unique and voluntary instrument founded in 2003, to help countries deepen democratic governance towards Africa's renewal.[10]

These frameworks and their adoption world over demonstrates the desire by the post-World War world to consolidate democratic governance which fosters peace, security and prosperity of a people enjoying fundamental rights and freedoms.

Despite such wide acceptance, a near universalist embrace of the twin concepts, opinion has been divided on how best to achieve the end results. Nation States such as China calls for culturally dependent mechanisms of political and socio-economic organizing; a view that fundamentally differ from that of the West.[11]

Prof. Maria Nzomo, one of Africa's Sapiential authority defines governance as the political, economic and administrative management of public affairs that entails the mechanisms, processes

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[9] "African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights." ACHPR. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/.

[10] "The Africa Peer Review Mechanism", *United Nations.* April 23, 2017. *http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/aprm.shtml*

[11] Morgan Earl, "China's Worldview and representation of its engagement with Africa," *Air and Space Power Journal,* 6, no. 3 (2015): 16

and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations.

Within the purview of this study, democratic governance means participatory and citizen led socio-economic and political organizing defined by among others: free and fair regular elections; rule of law; free press, respect for human rights and vibrant civil society. In an ecosystem of democratic governance, natural resources are sustainably exploited and proceeds are distributed equitably among the population towards peace, development and shared prosperity.

Equally pertinent to the democratic cause is the ability of countries to independently design and implement political and socio-economic governance structures without external interference; creating conducive domestic atmosphere where citizens can operate without justifiable or unlawful infringement of fundamental freedoms and rights.

Intricately intertwined with good governance are human rights, which for purposes of this study can be defined as the basic fundamental and inalienable entitlements afforded to individuals by virtue of being human.

As demonstrated from the earlier section, it is clear that the two concepts have formed critical rallying points in international relations, especially following the founding of the UN. To safeguard and entrench these global norms, various mechanisms, frameworks and institutions have been put in place at national, regional and global levels.

Norm-forming at international level, is hugely influenced by the stronger actors. Following the end of World War II, the United States emerged as a major global actor whose contribution was instrumental in shaping the global institutions, norms and framework.[12] Indeed, the global pursuit

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[12]Scherer, Andreas Georg, Guido Palazzo, and Dorothée Baumann. "Global Rules and Private Actors: Toward a New Role of the Transnational Corporation in Global Governance." *Business Ethics Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (2006): 505-32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3857794.

of democracy as a value by the West, led by the US, has defined international relations and informed Africa's international relations.

One of the most striking phenomena in global politics for the last three decades is the inordinate rise of China, marked by massive accumulation of economic fortunes. Beijing is becoming increasingly assertive, economically, politically and diplomatically.[13] In 2009, China became the largest trading partner for Africa, displacing the US.[14] Similarly, Beijing's dealings with Africa, has been premised on the equal partner dictum; shaped by non-interference in domestic affairs of African states. As China's global clout increases, it is not clear how its relationship with Africa will contribute in the maintenance or revision of the global norms and institutions in the realm of democratic governance and respect to human rights in Africa.

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[13]Ikenberry, G. John. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2008): 23-37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20020265.
[14]Medeiros, Evan S., and M. Taylor Fravel. "China's New Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (2003): 22-35. doi:10.2307/20033754.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite impressive policy documents and programmes on the desire to promote and consolidate democratic governance and respect of human rights at national and multilateral levels, Africa continues to grapple with actualization of these stated ideals. Emerging challenges such as terrorism, resource-based as well as interstate conflicts are working in concert with phenomena like personal rule and constitutional manipulation to put a strain on enjoyment of civil, political and economic rights among African countries.

China, which does not comply with global norms and institutions in the areas of democratic governance and respect to human rights, is increasing its influence in Africa. As China becomes a more influential global player, there are concerns that its foreign policy towards Africa such as emphasis on sovereignty and no-strings attached approach in extending development aid to Africa could inadvertently fuel erosion of democratic ideals and consequently legitimize undemocratic governance in the continent.

This study therefore seeks to analyze and determine the role and impact of China within Africa in the realm of democratic governance and respect of human rights in the 21st Century.

1.3 Research Questions

2. What factors shape the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa?

3. What is China's contribution to the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa?

4. What are the drivers of the deepening relations between China and African countries?

1.4 Study Objectives

The study's general objective is to determine the role of China in shaping the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in Africa.

The specific objectives are as follows:

1. To examine and determine factors that shape the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa.

2. To analyze and determine the contribution of China to the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa.

3. To examine and determine the drivers of Sino-African relations and how they contribute to democratic governance in Africa.

1.5 Literature Review

Several studies have established the link between democratic governance and promotion of human rights.[15] Under an ecosystem of democracy, human rights are promoted and preserved. And when democratic ideals are broken, human rights are often violated. This reality has guided agitation for democratic governance and promotion of human rights by various actors around the world following the end of World War II.

According to Nzau, ratification of international human rights regimes is likely to introduce reforms leading to increases in a country's overall level of democracy; making parties to international human rights conventions likely to experience enhanced democratization compared to states not party to those same conventions.[16]

This aspiration can be gleamed from the interest of African countries in ratification of regional and global frameworks related to the concepts of governance and human rights. Coming from a backdrop of civil wars, interstate conflicts and a genocide, Africa was upbeat in the negotiation and ratification of the Rome Statute that spawned the International Criminal Court. 34 of the 122 parties to the Rome Statute, are African countries[17]; making the continent the most vibrant participant in the quest for global peace, justice and, accountability.

Similarly, following the launch of APRM in 2002 under the auspices of the African Union, 33 out of 54 African countries had acceded to the framework[18]; based on a voluntary commitment

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[15]Davenport, Christian, and David A. Armstrong. "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976 to 1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 3 (2004): 538-54. doi:10.2307/1519915.

[16]Mumo Nzau, "Reassessing the Impact of International Human Rights Regimes on Democratization," *International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology,* 3, no. 10(2016): 57

[17] ICC. The States Parties to the Rome Statute. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://asp.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/asp/states%20parties/pages/the%20states%20parties%20to%20the%20rome%20statute.aspx

[18] APRM. "African Peer Review Mechanism." Accessed October 24, 2017. http://aprm-au.org/viewNews?newsId=33.

safeguard global practices related to political governance; economic governance and management, corporate governance and socio-economic governance.

It is therefore clear that individually and collectively, African countries have shown interest to uphold and preserve democratic governance and respect to human rights. Such efforts have not been in vain.

Recent report by the Freedom House indicates that the flower of democracy blossomed in 2015 with a number of countries such as Nigeria and Tanzania registering peaceful transitions of power following credible presidential elections.[19]

While this streak of democratic consolidation is laudable, the future prospects for the global norms and the institutions working towards their realization could be up against the rocks. Lately, undemocratic tendencies such as unconstitutional changes of government as well as constitutional manipulations to extend incumbent term limits have also been witnessed in Africa [20]

The re-emergence of coups[21] as witnessed in Mali and Guinea-Bissau and refusal leaders to step aside in the wake of electoral defeat as seen from the December 2016 Gambia elections is a clear pointer that old habits are hard to dissipate.

Even more worrying is the fact that traditional agents of democratic governance and sanctity of human rights such as the United States of America are becoming more ambivalent to the causes.[22]

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[19] "Overview Essay: Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies" Freedom House. April 19, 2017. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/overview-essay-anxious-dictators-wavering-democracies

[20] "Gambia talks fail as president refuses to step down" *BBC*. April 10, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38621092

[21] Jenkins, J. Craig, and Augustine J. Kposowa. "The Political Origins of African Military Coups: Ethnic Competition, Military Centrality, and the Struggle over the Postcolonial State." *International Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1992): 271-91. doi:10.2307/2600773.

[22] "Trump congratulates Erdoğan after Turkey vote grants sweeping powers" The Guardian. April 12, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/apr/17/donald-trump-erdogan-turkey-referendum-congratulations

Sino-Africa Relations

Former China's President Hu Jintao once remarked that China respects the right of the people of all countries to independently choose their own development path. "We will never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose our own will on them," he added.[23]

The policy of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries has defined China's international relations and is further emphasized in the China Africa Policy (CAP) of 2006.[24] Under the Policy, sovereignty is considered sacred; a view that mirror's China's own history of being dominated and humiliated by foreign powers.

Further, given China's unique, yet successful development trajectory having lifted over 400 million out of poverty[25], Beijing rejects the notion of universalism when it comes to development models; instead calling for contextualized approaches.[26]

China views human rights from a collective prism, divorcing the individual from its engagements. Economic rights such as right to food, health, housing, and education carry heavy premium compared to the first generation rights namely: civil and political rights as conceived and propagated by the West.[27]

In addition, China has adopted what it calls a 'win-win relationship' with Africa in which the two operates at equal level, respecting the internal dynamics of governance in respective territories;

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[23] "Unswervingly Following the Path of Peaceful Development." China Daily. March 15, 2017. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-10/25/content_6226673_11.htm

[24] "China Africa Policy". April 20, 2017. http://www.cooperazioneallosviluppo.esteri.it/pdgcs/italiano/speciali/Eurafrica/Pdf/China%27s_African_Policy.pdf

[25] Fareed Zakaria. *The Post-American World.* (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2008)

[26] Adams, Vincanne. "Suffering the Winds of Lhasa: Politicized Bodies, Human Rights, Cultural Difference, and Humanism in Tibet." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1998): 74-102. http://www.jstor.org/stable/649478

[27] "What African Countries Can Learn from China's Commitment to the Right to Development". International Law in the 21st Century. March 10, 2017. http://www.internationallawin21stcenturyafrica.com/2016/11/27/hello-world/

while aiming to cement a beneficial socio-economic and political working relationship for a shared prosperity.[28]

The narrative that development can be realized through other forms of governance besides democratic ideals as espoused by the West has made Beijing an easy sell in many African capitals. Even more alluring to Africa is the fact that China is fronting a cooperative model of equality and reciprocity based on South to South relations.

And while China embraces a state-centric model of socio-economic and political organizing, Rod avers that a combination of democratic contestation and institutional restraints on governments' discretionary authority substantially improves developmental governance.[29]

The most visible aspect of Sino-African relations is anchored on economics. China's trade with Africa increased twenty-fold since the turn of the 21st century to hit US$ 200 billion in 2012.[30] The Chinese Ministry of Commerce (CMC) values bilateral trade with Africa at US$ 222 billion, in 2014. In addition, China-Africa Development Fund (CADF) estimated Chinese investments in the continent at US$ 32.4 billion in 2014 and is expected to reach US$ 100 billion by 2020.

While the value of economic trade between Africa and China has experienced unprecedented increase, it is important to point out that in its foreign policy towards Africa, China has stratified African countries in different categories. The first group is composed of regionally strong economies such as South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria[31]. These group is courted for their greater leverage in international politics and regional influence. South Africa, which is a member of the

[28] "China for Win-Win Relations with Africa". Embassy of The People's Republic Of China In The Republic Of Malawi. April 8, 2017. http://mw.china-embassy.org/eng/sghdhzxxx/t1238545.htm

[29] Rod Alence, "Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies,* 42, no. 2 (2004): 163

[30] French, W. Howard. *China's Second Continent: How a million immigrants are building an empire in Africa.* 1st Edition. (New York: Vintage Books, 2015), 4.

[31] Morck, Randall, Bernard Yeung, and Minyuan Zhao. "Perspectives on China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment." *Journal of International Business Studies* 39, no. 3 (2008): 337-50. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25483271.

Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), group of economies that has cut a niche as a power worth China's attention in the continent.

The second group is made of resource rich countries such as Zimbabwe, Central Africa Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo[32]; countries where democratic ideals remain elusive; yet China has vast economic interests in the same countries.

China's dealing with this second group of countries has seen Beijing labeled as a supporter of dictatorship and violation of human rights. China has been blamed for blocking economic sanctions on Sudan at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), besides selling weapons to Khartoum., In addition, a report by a UN sanctions committee indicated that Chinese companies supplied anti-tank missiles and launchers, rifles, ammunition and rockets to South Sudan to the tune of US$ 20 million.[33]

On the other hand, China's economic activities in Africa are seen to support development and job creation; core functions that effective governance is supposed to achieve. The investments in Africa's agricultural, energy, transport and industrial sectors are lauded as key ingredients of economic stimulation- a necessary undertaking towards Africa's long term socio-economic and peaceful political transformation.

The founding, in 2000, of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)[34], which brought together 44 countries, was a clear pointer that China intended to enter the new millennium on a new footing with Africa. In 2006, besides the promulgation of the CAP, China announced debt

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[32]Zweig, David, and Bi Jianhai. "China's Global Hunt for Energy." *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 25-38. doi:10.2307/20031703.

[33] "What China hopes to achieve with first peacekeeping mission." BBC. March 7, 2017 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34976580

[34] "Forum on China–Africa Cooperation" *FOCAC*. April 11, 2017. http://www.focac.org/eng/dwjbzjjhys/t952503.htm

cancellation amounting to US$1.4 billion; besides the creation of a US$5 billion fund comprising soft and commercial loans.[35]

This is in contrast to Western aid, that has for long been tied to governance, human rights, transparency, accountability and existence of vibrant civil society; yardsticks that continue to define democratic governance.[36] This scenario has often put many capitals in Africa on a collision course with the West, when 'acceptable' global norms are not met.

Africa as a continent has therefore been caught between the need to fit within western universalist paradigms and the challenge of engendering a homegrown solution to demands of peace, security and endogenous development.[37]

In this sense, China has come in handy to fill the void that Africa's traditional development partners helped create and continue to perpetuate. However, it is to be remembered that what China offers is but a worldview it has crafted in its dealings with Africa. In other words, the no strings attached foreign policy towards supporting African countries, should first be looked at as a tool to help China get ahead; and not necessary to bolster Africa to face the challenges of the 21st Century.

What is more worrying, is whether African leaders have the capacity to effectively negotiate productive loans and invest in sectors that will propel the continent forward. With corruption being rife in Africa, the lack of transparency that often accompany Chinese activities in the continent could be a linchpin for public resources pilferage while subjecting the continent to long term commitments with little or no returns for the common citizenry. This raises fundamental

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[35] "How and why China became Africa's biggest aid donor." *China Policy Institute*. March 10, 2017 https://cpianalysis.org/2016/04/27/how-and-why-china-became-africas-biggest-aid-donor/

[36]Olsen, Gorm Rye. "Europe and the Promotion of Democracy in Post-Cold War Africa: How Serious Is Europe and for What Reason?" *African Affairs* 97, no. 388 (1998): 343-67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/723214.

[37]Landes, David S. "Why Europe and the West? Why Not China?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20, no. 2 (2006): 3-22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30033648.

governance concerns with China's see no evil, speak no evil stance; a position that is adopted more for expediency than a matter of enduring principle.[38]

Indeed, the non-interference policy seems only applicable where there is no threat to growing China's economic interests in the continent. The increased contribution of peacekeeping missions in Africa by China exemplifies this fact. By 2012, China had over 1,800 military, police, and civilian personnel in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, the largest contributor among UN Security Council permanent members and constituting 75 percent of China's total number of deployed peacekeepers worldwide. In 2015, China committed troops to peacekeeping in South Sudan under the UN; a move that was seen by some quarters as more inclined to deal making than peacekeeping[39].

Another front that has featured heavily in the literature regarding Chinese activities in Africa concerns environmental protection and conservation. Chinese companies are often accused of ignoring environmental regulations in their extractive activities in the continent. This view however contrasts with establishment of the Sino-African Joint Research Centre (SAJOREC) in Kenya.[40] Considered the most ambitious research project to be funded by China abroad, the initiative aims to spearhead biodiversity conservation in the continent.

[38] Ian Taylor. "Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights." *African Affairs,* 107, no 426. (2007): 63-87. https://academic.oup.com/afraf/article/107/426/63/51521/Sino-African-Relations-and-the-Problem-of-Human

[39] "What China hopes to achieve with first peacekeeping mission." *BBC*, March 15, 2017 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34976580

[40] "China hands over a KShs 3 Billion Research Centre to JKUAT." JKUAT Website. March 18, 2017. http://www.jkuat.ac.ke/china-hands-kshs-3-billion-research-centre-jkuat/

1.6 Justification of the Study

Despite the implosion of human rights and governance legislations, frameworks and institutions in Africa, the continent seems unable to translate legal and institutional frameworks into effective tools that can address the 21st Century challenges facing it with regards to democratic governance.

New threats such as terrorism, personal rule, climate change and new global power configurations are some of the emerging threats to promotion of democratic governance in the continent. As China consolidates its global influence, there is limited academic literature on how Beijing's deepening relations with a number of African capitals will impact the continuation or revision of global norms and institutions related to the ideals of democratic governance and respect of human rights in the continent. This study seeks to fill this knowledge gap by investigating the role and impact of China's activities in Africa within the democratic paradigm discourse.

The recommendations of the study can be used as a basis to inform policy on how Africa can work with global partners including China to promote democratic governance and development in the continent.

1.7 Study Hypotheses

HP1: China is not the only impediment to the practice of democratic governance in Africa.

HP2: China's non-interference policy in internal affairs of African countries impedes the practice and consolidation of democratic governance and development in the continent

HP3: Sino-African relation is driven by economic, political, security and ideological factors.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study employed Marxism to explain the deepening relations between China and Africa. Marxism in international relations considers the use of economic power by one state to control other states;[41] or the capture of the state by economically powerful to further engage in self-enrichment by exploiting other economies.

Predicated on four core propositions of: proletarian globalism, anti-imperialism, self-determination and peaceful coexistence,[42] Marxism provides a simple yet powerful lens of analyzing Africa's international relations both within and with China. Sino-African relations are largely driven by the desire of African countries to move away from imperialistic Western colonial powers; a move that mirrors what Carl Marx saw as revolution by the proletariat. In addition, the theory's self-determination component explains China's non-interference policy towards Africa, premised on the notion that each country has the right to determine own socio-economic and political systems as encapsulated in the UN Charter.[43] This ultimately leads to peaceful coexistence among nations of the world, a view that China has fronted in its relations with Africa.

The theory is also adequate in understanding the impediments to democratic governance within African countries occasioned by a move by the elite who have captured power and continue to use it for self-preservation and enrichment at the expense of society's good. Ills such as corruption, nepotism, ethnicity, terrorism and climate change can be attributed by class disparities among peoples or states; mostly driven by pursuit of economic domination.

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[41]Walt, Stephen M. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (1998): 29-46. doi:10.2307/1149275.

[42]Manjri. Marxist Theory of international relations. https://www.slideshare.net/satyavrat1994/marxist-theory-29308212

[43] United Nations. UN Charter. https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf

1.9 The Scope of the Study

The study focused on both bilateral and multilateral forms of relations between African countries and China. It examined the drivers of the Sino-African relations and the contribution of China to the phenomenon of democratic governance in the continent. Noting that China is not the only factor in matters governance in Africa, the study also cast a glance on some of the emerging challenges to the promotion of democratic governance in the continent in the 21st century.

1.10 Limitations to the Study

While Sino-African relations can be studied on many fronts, this research only focused on the democratic governance implications of the Chinese activities in the 21st Century Africa. As such, the study is not exhaustive of the various pertinent issues, needing exemplification regarding the deepening engagements between China and Africa.

1.11 Research Methodology

The study deployed a cross-sectional design. Predominantly a survey research, the study aimed to examine the obtaining conditions of the identified aspects and report the findings. This was executed through collection of data from respondents drawn from thematic areas through interviews and structured questionnaires.

The study equally leveraged both primary and secondary sources with purposive sampling technique being used to select respondents. Additional sources included: academic journal articles, publications, books and other useful materials such as expert audio-visual interviews and discussions.

Collected data was subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analysis and the findings presented using both descriptive and content analysis.

1.12 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction. The Chapter entails background for the study; delves into the problem and significance of the study as well as theoretical and methodological underpinnings that inform the study.

Chapter 2: Democratic Governance in 21st Century Africa. This chapter examines and determines the factors that shape the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa.

Chapter 3: China and Democratic Governance in Africa. This chapter analyses and determines the contribution of China to Africa's quest for democratic governance.

Chapter 4: Drivers of Sino-African Relations. The chapter delves into the findings on the drivers and aspects of the deepening relationship between China and Africa in the 21st Century.

Chapter 5: Presents summary discussions and analysis of findings

Chapter 6: Captures conclusions and recommendations of the study.

FACTORS SHAPING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN 21ST CENTURY AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The question of governance in Africa has been the focus of several studies over the years. The continent has experimented with several forms of socio-economic and political organizing, with lopsided outcomes. Indeed, political instability and other forms of crises in the continent have been attributed to leadership problems[44]

From the study, it is clear that foreign intervention remains a major concern as far as democratic governance in Africa is concerned. While the study sought to interrogate the likely impact of increasing Chinese activities in the continent, it also revealed that there are a number of factors that continue to shape the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in Africa.

2.2 Foreign intervention.

Defined within the purview of this study as deliberate or inadvertent actions of a foreign actors in a country's democratic process, foreign intervention has come out as an important factor in Africa's democratic quest. Often executed by both state, and non-state actors, there is an avalanche of evidence pointing to the involvement of external actors in the discourse of democracy and respect of human rights in African countries. In the 1990s for instance, it became a policy of the developed

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[44]Alhaji Ahmadu Ibrahim and Lawan Cheri, "Democracy, Political Instability and the African Crisis of Underdevelopment," Journal of Power, Politics & Governance, 01, No. 01, , http://www.citationmachine.net/chicagob/cite-a-journal/manual.

North to extend democracy assistance to developing south, in key areas of government operation such as parliament, judiciary and local government towards fostering liberal democracy.[45]

The push for democracy has also received considerable support from governmental organizations from around the world. In Kenya for instance, electoral processes have received substantial support from international organizations such as the United Nations Development Programme, USAID, European Union.[46] Such support has gone into electoral preparedness including voter registration, and voter education; critical components of any electoral democracy.

In addition, western governments and non-state actors have worked with civil society organizations in the realm of democracy and human rights to promote these ideas in the continent. In Kenya's 2013 presidential elections for instance, the civil society group, The Africa Centre for Open Governance (AfriCOG) a non- profit organization that addresses the structural causes of corruption and poor governance in Kenya, logged a petition at the Supreme Court regarding irregularities in the presidential elections relating to conduct of the elections.[47]

Foreign intervention in defense of democratic principle was also seen in Gambia in January 2017. When Yayah Jammeh refused to leave office after his defeat in the December 2016 polls, it took the intervention of the ECOWAS, backed by the African Union and the United Nations to have the duly elected leader, Adama Barrow ascend to the presidency.[48]

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[45]Hearn, Julie. "Aiding Democracy? Donors and Civil Society in South Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 5 (2000): 815-30. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993620

[46]UNDP, "EU partners with UNDP to strengthen electoral processes in Kenya," , accessed August 10, 2017, http://www.undp.org/content/brussels/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2016/02/11/eu-partners-with-undp-to-strengthen-electoral-processes-in-kenya.html.

[47]"Petition Number 4 by AfriCOG – Consolidated by the Supreme Court," Africog, , accessed August 26, 2017, https://africog.org/petition-number-4-by-africog-consolidated-by-the-supreme-court/.

[48]Adrian Blomfield, "West African states prepare to invade Gambia to force Yahya Jammeh to hand power to president-elect Adama Barrow," The Telegraph, January 16, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/16/west-african-states-prepare-invade-gambia-force-yahya-jammeh/.

International and intergovernmental organizations have also been crucial to the enterprise of democratic governance in Africa. One of the institutions identified as having contributed to good governance in Africa in the ICC. Following the bloodletting that characterized the Kenyan elections in December 2007, the ICC opened investigations and in 2010 arraigned six Kenyans including Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, at The Hague-based Court.[49] While Kenyatta and Ruto were elected as President and Deputy respectively in the 2013 elections,[50] the actual threat of alternative judicial mechanisms to bring violators to book, was cited by respondents as significant deterrent of political violence in the country.[51]

ICC has equally undertaken to bring human rights abusers to justice, opening investigations and/or subsequent prosecutions in a number of African countries including Central Africa Republic, Mali, Ivory Coast, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo.[52]

Respondents to the study also named organizations such as Transparency International, Human Rights Watch, and Freedom House as pivotal in enhancing democratic governance in African countries. The identified organizations help by exposing the excesses of regimes; calling for greater transparency in conduct of public affairs and holding back support in absence of reforms.[53]

On the other hand, the study, has also pointed to actions by foreign governments have contributed to erosion of democratic governance in Africa. In the case of China, for instance, Beijing's economic interests and activities in the continent could be holding back democratic governance.

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[49] Bryant, Lisa. "6 Prominent Kenyans Accused of Crimes Against Humanity." VOA. December 14, 2010. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://www.voanews.com/a/six-prominent-kenyans-accused-of-crimes-against-humanity--111924229/132303.html.
[50] BBC News. "Did the ICC help Uhuru Kenyatta win Kenyan election?" March 11, 2013. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-21739347.
[51] Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Patrick Maluki, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017
[52] "Africa Debate - Is the ICC Targeting Africa Inappropriately?" The International Criminal Court Forum. Accessed September 29, 2017. http://iccforum.com/africa.
[53] Weiss, Thomas G. "Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges." *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 5 (2000): 795-814. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993619.

China's sale of arms in unregulated and war countries such as South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central Africa Republic have the potential to aggravate the conflict hence exacerbating violations of human rights.[54] A new report by Transparency International on the sale of torture equipment to a number of African countries, is a pointer to another way through which China could be contributing inadvertently to democratic erosion in the continent.

The study also found out that Chinese companies operating in Africa are more likely to engage in graft in their push to win tenders from African governments, a fact that that was validated by the 2017 McKinsey Report.[55] This is further evidenced by the recent move by Africa Development Bank to blacklist a number of Chinese entities from doing business in the continent on grounds of commercial improprieties. When such entities go the length of bribing government officials to win tenders, the actions in themselves become major hindrances to the practice of good governance; seen from the lenses of transparency and accountability.

According to one respondent, it has become fashionable for African contractors to scout for Chinese investors with the sole intention of brokerage of commercial deals. This practice has given rise to expensive contracts whose repayments must be undertaken by the citizens, against established norms of business governance.

The study also found out that Chinese companies often flout labour rules, subjecting African workers to inhumane working conditions: without protective gear, on low pay and in absence of structured employments terms. These anomalies, identified by the respondents, speak to the erosion

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[54]Spiegel, Samuel J., and Philippe Le Billon. "China's Weapons Trade: From Ships of Shame to the Ethics of Global Resistance." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*85, no. 2 (2009): 323-46. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27694977.

[55]Kartik Jayaram, Omid Kassiri, and Yuan Sun. "The closest look yet at Chinese economic engagement in Africa." McKinsey & Company. Accessed September 10, 2017.

of human rights; either intentionally or inadvertently by the Chinese companies working in the continent.

While desirable in any bilateral engagements, the Chinese modus operandi of none-interference in domestic activities of African states was identified in the study as having an impact on the practice of democratic governance in the continent.[56] As China becomes an important international actor and key partner for Africa, Beijing has an important leverage to hold governments accountable on matters democratic governance and observation of human rights in the continent.

While the study revealed some of the ways through which China could be contributing to the stagnation or erosion of democratic governance in the continent, it also revealed that a number of activities by Beijing are facilitating democracy, particularly in the realm of development.

Chinese companies operating in Africa provides source of income for the Africans employed therein.[57] Such gainful employment leads to economic empowerment and poverty alleviation; core ingredients of democratic consolidation and practice; as we shall see in subsequent sections.

The Chinese dictum of development for democracy[58], seen from increased investments in Africa's infrastructure, energy and agriculture is a further test of the role of Beijing in wealth creation and livelihoods transformation in the continent.

The sentiments by the respondents on the role of China in job creation in Africa is further supported by the McKinsey which found that up to 89% of all employees in Chinese firms were Africans; working both at managerial and staff levels.[59]In addition, the report indicates that Chinese firms

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[56]Kleine-Ahlbrandt, Stephanie, and Andrew Small. "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy: Is Beijing Parting with Pariahs?" *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 1 (2008): 38-56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20020266.

[57] Sautman, Barry, and Yan Hairong. "The Forest for the Trees: Trade, Investment and the China-in-Africa Discourse." Pacific Affairs 81, no. 1 (2008): 9-29. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40377480.
[58]Holslag, Jonathan. "CHINA AND THE COUPS: COPING WITH POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN AFRICA." *African Affairs* 110, no. 440 (2011): 367-86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41240211.

[59]Ibid

operating in Africa, have a policy of training local workforce, as a long term strategy to bolster their operations in the continent.

The Chinese government has also extended numerous scholarships to Africans to pursue higher education in Chinese academic institutions. Such opportunities bequeath Africa a set of technological skills and knowledge in key areas such as construction, trade, manufacturing; all critical to sustainable socio-economic transformation and development of the continent.[60]

The entry of China in Africa has also led to infiltration of competitively priced products with tangible impact on the lives of the people.[61] Access to information in many parts of Africa has been made possible, thanks to Chinese mobile technology and digital television access. Considered fundamental in a democratic discourse, China's StarTimes broadcasting company has rolled out low-cost digital television, cutting the cost of pay television by over 80%. [62]

Another notable example is the revolutionary mobile money transfer – Mpesa. The Kenyan innovation that runs on Chinese technology has provided phone based financial banking services to tens of millions of citizens in Kenyan and the region[63]; something that was not possible before.

As captured in this study, China's contribution to Africa's democratic governance and economic development has been two pronged. While there are those activities that impede democratization

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[60] Allison, Simon. "Fixing China's image in Africa, one student at a time." The Guardian. July 05, 2013. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/31/china-africa-students-scholarship-programme.

[61] Chinese projects changing lives in Kenya. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.focac.org/eng/zxxx/t1236461.htm.

[62] Xinhua. "With Chinese investment, Burundians enjoy better TV service at lower price." Business - Chinadaily.com.cn. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2017-08/01/content_30315241.htm.

[63] World Bank. "M-PESA: Mobile Payments, Improved Lives for Kenyans." Data & Research. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/0,,contentMDK:22594763~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:469382,00.html.

and preservation of human rights, Beijing is equally hoisting Africa's development bid in major ways, with tangible results.[64]

As the study revealed, China is not the only external player in Africa's quest for democratic governance.

Besides foreign intervention as a key factor shaping Africa's democratic governance, the study also revealed other factors. They include:

2.3 Personal Rule

A look at Africa reveals presence of leaders whose tenure has exceeded two decades, creating political economies that can barely support the livelihoods of citizens.[65] This club of strongmen is led by Teodoro Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, who has served for 38 years. In each of the cases, the leaders shot to the presidency without passing through the electoral democracy.[66] Like Obiang, Uganda's, President Museveni rose to power after winning the war that ousted Idi Amin in 1986.[67] Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe is the founding President following the country's independence in 1980. The phenomenon is replicated in a number of African countries including Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, Swaziland, Sudan, Chad, and Eritrea.

For the most part, Africa's strongmen have used authoritarian tactics to keep opposition and competitions for political power in check. Opposition leaders in Uganda, Zimbabwe together with

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[64]McCormick, Dorothy. "China & India as Africa's New Donors: The Impact of Aid on Development." *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 115 (2008): 73-92. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20406478.

[65] Marinov, Nikolay. "Do Economic Sanctions Destabilize Country Leaders?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 564-76. doi:10.2307/3647732.

[66]Sutter, Daniel. "Settling Old Scores: Potholes along the Transition from Authoritarian Rule." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39, no. 1 (1995): 110-28. http://www.jstor.org/stable/174324.

[67]Prunier, Gérard. "Rebel Movements and Proxy Warfare: Uganda, Sudan and the Congo (1986-99)." *African Affairs* 103, no. 412 (2004): 359-83. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518562.

citizens of dissenting views, for instance, have faced violent crackdown from government, leading to numerous instances of human rights violations.[68]

The respondents to the study also identified the use of legislative frameworks to extend the stay in office by some African leaders. Rwanda's Paul Kagame, has for example succeeded in expunging the provision for presidential term limits from the country's constitution, opening the way for him to possibly stay in power for over two decades.[69]

In neighboring Uganda, debate is rife following the move by ruling regime to abolish age limits for those gunning for presidency; a move seen to be in favour of the incumbent, President Museveni who will be 76 during the country's 2021 elections. Uganda's constitution currently caps presidential aspirants age at 75. The desire to remove age limits follows the 2005 constitutional amendment that removed the presidential term limit, at a time President Museveni was expected to exit after serving two terms.[70]

The desire to lengthen office tenure for African presidents through legislation has also been reported in Burundi, a country that was, in 2016, plunged into chaos following the decision by the incumbent, President Pierre Nkurunziza to run for a third term, despite constitutional threshold of two terms. The decision plunged the country into anarchy characterized by targeted killing of dissidents and citizens perceived not to be supportive of the regime.[71] The ensuing conflict subjected thousands of Burundians into human rights violations such as rape, death, maiming, and displacements.

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[68]"Uganda police arrest opposition leader again amid election clashes." The Guardian. February 19, 2016. Accessed September 29, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/19/uganda-elections-police-arrest-opposition-leader-clashes-besigye

[69] Daniel N. Posner, Daniel J. Young. "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa" Project Muse. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/218819/summary

[70]Mwenda, Andrew M., and Roger Tangri. "Patronage Politics, Donor Reforms, and Regime Consolidation in Uganda." *African Affairs* 104, no. 416 (2005): 449-67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518724.

[71]Omach, Paul. "The African Crisis Response Initiative: Domestic Politics and Convergence of National Interests." *African Affairs* 99, no. 394 (2000): 73-95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/723548.

While the strongmen phenomenon is still entrenched in the continent, Africa has witnessed democratic gains in a number of jurisdictions. In Gambia, an autocrat was in early 2017 dethroned, thanks to concerted and targeted international support. Yayah Jammeh was forced to relinquish power after a defeat by Adama Barrow in the December 2016 polls.[72]

In 2016, Ghana's sitting president John Mahama became the first incumbent to lose elections; conceding to Nana Akufo-Addo.[73] This unprecedented occurrence also played out a year earlier in Nigeria where President Goodluck Jonathan lost to Muhammadu Buhari, having secured 45% of the count.

In Kenya, the Supreme Court in August 2017 nullified results of a presidential election, a first for Africa. Besides affirming the independence of the judiciary, which is a linchpin in democratic governance and consolidation of the rule of law; the ruling showed that an African court can stand up to the executive, with evidentiary threshold on electoral malpractice in the continent.[74]

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[72] Maclean, Ruth. "Yahya Jammeh leaves the Gambia after 22 years of rule." The Guardian. January 21, 2017. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/21/anxious-gambians-await-former-president-yahya-jammeh-departure.

[73] Tornyi, Emmanuel. "Election 2016: Five incumbent presidents who conceded defeat in Africa." News and Entertainment- Latest Updates in Ghana | Pulse.com.gh. December 12, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.pulse.com.gh/news/politics/election-2016-five-incumbent-presidents-who-conceded-defeat-in-africa-id5884085.html.

[74] "Kenya presidential election cancelled by Supreme Court," BBC News, September 01, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41123329.

2.4 Poverty

Poverty, characterized by extreme socio-economic deprivation, has been blamed for faltering democratic consolidation and practice in the continent.[75]Because of poverty, many populations around the world have been manipulated or coerced into supporting particular political positions/personalities.[76] A number of reports have linked fledgling democracy in a number of African countries to low levels of human development.[77]

For instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2014 Human Development Index ranks Botswana, Kenya, and Burundi at 0.698 0.548 0.400 respectively.[78] The three countries are further classified by Freedom House as free, partly free and not free respectively; in terms of their respect to human rights. A further nexus between democracy and poverty using the three countries can be gleamed from the World Bank 2014 report that puts Botswana's GDP per capita, at US$ 7, 123, followed by Kenya at US$ 1, 358 and Burundi at US$ 286.[79]

In addition, the life expectancy for Botswana, Kenya and Burundi, according to World Bank Report, 2013 stood at 64, 61 and 56 respectively. From this data sets, it is easy to link human development to quality of democracy in a country.[80] It therefore makes sense, drawing from the study findings,

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[75]Harber, Clive. "Education, Democracy and Poverty Reduction in Africa." *Comparative Education* 38, no. 3 (2002): 267-76. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3099516.

[76]Sugiyama, Natasha Borges, and Wendy Hunter. "Whither Clientelism? Good Governance and Brazil's "Bolsa Família" Program." *Comparative Politics* 46, no. 1 (2013): 43-62. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43664332.

[77]Leftwich, Adrian. "Governance, Democracy and Development in the Third World." *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1993): 605-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992489.

[78]"2014 Human Development Report (HDI)," UNDP, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/events/2014/july/HDR2014.html.

[79]"GDP per capita (current US$)," GDP per capita (current US$) | Data, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD.

[80] Ibid

why Botswana is placed ahead of Kenya and Burundi in democratic strength and quality, by institutions such as the Freedom House.

As more African countries experience economic inequality, prospects for democratic governance and shared prosperity both at national and continental level are challenged.

2.5 Terrorism

By their very nature, terrorists seek to achieve desirable political ends by use of violence.[81] Africa has had to deal with the menace of terrorism that has to impacted several countries. From Nigeria, where Boko Haram continue to mete violence and wanton destruction of property and life, the Al Shabab in Somalia and Kenya remains anathema.[82]

The study revealed that because of acts of terrorism as well as counterbalancing measures by African governments, this often lead to restriction of civil liberties and freedoms. Arising out of fear of terrorism, the response to terrorism opens a lacuna to be exploited by government to institute measures and laws whose implementation can lead to violation of human rights.[83]

Freedom House for example points out that the laws enacted by the Government of Kenya in 2014; intended to help the country effectively respond to and manage increasing terror incidents, as having been used to commit atrocities against innocent citizens.[84]   The implementation of the Security

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[81]Weinberg, Leonard. "Turning to Terror: The Conditions under Which Political Parties Turn to Terrorist Activities." *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 4 (1991): 423-38. doi:10.2307/422258.

[82]Czinkota, Michael R, Gary Knight, Peter W Liesch, and John Steen. "Terrorism and International Business: A Research Agenda." *Journal of International Business Studies* 41, no. 5 (2010): 826-43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40731534.

[83]Dreher, Axel, Martin Gassebner, and Lars-H. Siemers. "Does Terrorism Threaten Human Rights? Evidence from Panel Data." *The Journal of Law & Economics* 53, no. 1 (2010): 65-93. doi:10.1086/596021.

[84]Kenya. " Kenya Freedom in the World | 2017, July 17, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2017/kenya.

Laws (Amendment) Act of 2014 in Kenya was accompanied by reports of arbitrary arrests, detentions and limiting press freedoms.

In addition, measures such as curfews work to limit freedoms of movement, association, and assembly as citizens can only move within specific times.[85]

Terrorists' aim to sow political discord among the population and their use of violence stands in contrasts to democratic ideals of justice, peace and harmony. Where terror thrives, the prospects for democratic consolidation is therefore hugely constrained.[86] As populations are displaced from their homes and infrastructure decimated, foundations of governance are destroyed, making socio-economic and political organizing very difficult.

According to the findings of the study, terror activities pose serious economic threats to the victims. Reduced economic activities makes populations vulnerable to political manipulation as well as depriving the victims' economic rights.[87]

Terrorism, the study revealed, also triggers travel advisories from and to the affected places. Somalia, for instance, has been classified by a number of countries as unsafe country because of terrorism. The United States has even gone further to prevent Somali citizens from going to US, straining the rights of movement of affected population.[88]

[85] Ibid

[86]Gause, F. Gregory. "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?" *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 62-76. doi:10.2307/20031706.

[87]Leftwich, Adrian. "Governance, Democracy and Development in the Third World." *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1993): 605-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992489.

[88]U.S. Department of State, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://travel.state.gov/content/passports/en/alertswarnings/kenya-travel-warning.html.

2.6 Corruption

While globally, corruption enterprise is estimated at $ 1 trillion dollars a year[89], African countries experience huge resources flight. Between 2004 and 2008, for instance, Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue, the son of Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mbasogo, the president of Equatorial Guinea, was accused of working with foreign agents to transfer over US$110 million in suspect funds into the United States. [90]

Similarly, in 2002, the government of Kenya turned down a six million pound bid from a French firm only to sign an agreement worth 31.89 million with little known UK-based Anglo-Leasing firm; for supply of similar products. The excess money was intended to benefit government official complicit in the deal.[91]

Such actions drain huge resources out of public coffers only to benefit a few individuals within government, who for most part hide the money in foreign accounts. [92]

The despoliation of public resources for personal gain by those holding office has been identified in the study as a major factor affecting democratic governance in Africa. When public officials divert resources meant to provide essential services such as health, education, infrastructure, water and security, it leaves populations vulnerable, with poor quality of life.

The 2017 McKinsey report for instance, documents that the biggest worry of Chinse investors in Africa, is the demand for bribes and other forms of personal emoluments by African leaders before

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[89] The Global Anticorruption Blog. "Where Does the $2.6 Trillion Corruption Cost Estimate Come From?" December 16, 2015, accessed October 24, 2017, https://globalanticorruptionblog.com/2015/12/22/where-does-the-2-6-trillion-corruption-cost-estimate-come-from/.

[90] "The Puppet Masters". World Bank. Accessed September 29, 2017https://star.worldbank.org/star/sites/star/files/puppetmastersv1.pdf

[91] Ibid

[92] Boswell, Nancy Zucker, and Susan Rose-Ackerman. "Corruption and Democracy." *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)* 90 (1996): 83-90. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25659012.

awarding of contracts. This practice clearly goes against the accepted norms of transparency, integrity and fairness that underpins democratic governance.

Other forms of corruption such as public officials irregularly issuing identification documents to illegal immigrants have been linked to transnational crimes such as terrorism; drug and human trafficking; and money laundering; all of which puts lives of innocent citizens in danger.[93]

Corruption also take other forms such as electoral fraud as reported by the Supreme Court of Kenya following the August 2017 presidential elections. In its ruling, the Court noted that the electoral process was defined by irregularities and illegalities,[94] intended to deliver a predetermined outcome, contrary to objective reflection of the will of the people.

2.7 Ethnicity

Ethnicity has for long time been a stumbling block on achievement of peace, stability and development in many african countries.[95] African traditional societies were largely organized around tribal or ethnic blocks. Following colonialism, many African tribes found themselves, under central command by foreign actors, who relied on institutions such as courts, churches and the military to maintain control over the Africans.[96]

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[93]Nino, Carlos S. "The Duty to Punish Past Abuses of Human Rights Put into Context: The Case of Argentina." *The Yale Law Journal* 100, no. 8 (1991): 2619-640. doi:10.2307/796904.

[94]Maggie Fick and George Obulutsa, "Kenyan court scraps presidential vote, Kenyatta calls for calm," Reuters, September 01, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-election-court/kenyan-court-scraps-presidential-vote-kenyatta-calls-for-calm-idUSKCN1BC4A5.

[95] Bruce J. Berman. "Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa" accessed September 29, 2017, http://repository.ri.jica.go.jp/dspace/bitstream/10685/77/1/JICA-RI_WP_No.22_2010.pdf

[96]Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *The American Economic Review*101, no. 7 (2011): 3221-252. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41408736.

As colonialism came to an end, tribe became a central factor in political organizing and resource agitation. Emerging political parties or groupings were largely on the basis of tribes.[97] In Kenya, for instance, parties were based on ethnic alignment as revealed by such organizations such as Kikuyu Central Association, and the Luo Kavirondo Association. From those early days, tribe/ethnicity has remained a central theme in political organizing or entrepreneurship.[98] Currently, the main parties in Kenya namely National Super Alliance and the Jubilee party; are founded on collection of parties, largely modeled along ethnic lines. Such organizing led to the debilitating war that rocked Kenya in 2007; where tribe turned against tribe.

In South Sudan, the simmering civil war is largely fought along ethnic lines; pitting the Dinka against the Nuer.[99] The 1994 Rwandan genocide was operationalized on the basis of ethnicity with Hutus against the Tutsis. [100]

 The belief that only when a leader from one's tribe ascend to the presidency will development follow, has led to intense political competition and reward among tribes. This has resulted in marked division, suspicion and hatred among ethnic communities in Africa. But ethnicity is not just a factor in politics and governance in Africa,[101] land ownership, and access to pastures among pastoralist communities has been another front where ethnic conflict has manifested.

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[97]Olzak, Susan. "Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 355-74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946070.

[98]Harries, Patrick. "The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa." *African Affairs* 87, no. 346 (1988): 25-52. http://www.jstor.org/stable/722808.

[99]Kaufman, Stuart J. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (2006): 45-86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137529.

[100]Newbury, Catharine, and David Newbury. "A Catholic Mass in Kigali: Contested Views of the Genocide and Ethnicity in Rwanda." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 33, no. 2/3 (1999): 292-328. doi:10.2307/486267.
[101]Osamba, Joshia O. "Violence and the Dynamics of Transition: State, Ethnicity and Governance in Kenya." *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement* 26, no. 1/2 (2001): 37-54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43661154.

Chapter Summary

In line with the Chapter's objective to examine and determine factors that shape the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa, the study identified seven key factors. They include: corruption, ethnicity, poverty, terrorism, personal rule and foreign intervention. The findings confirm the first hypothesis that China, whose activities are studies within the factor of foreign intervention, is not the only impediment to the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in the continent.

Based on Marxism, the study findings are corresponding to broader constructs of the theory as they relate to economic competition and domination. African leaders engage in public resource pilferage, corruption and other forms of malpractice while failing to institute reforms and investments that can foster development. The result is a vicious cycle covering poverty and incapacity to hold leaders accountable to democratic ideals.

At the same time, foreign actors both state and non-state actors have had a contribution to stagnation of democratic governance in the continent. Motivated by need to maintain or reverse status quo; international terrorists often exploit economic and political grievances against the state to conjure up attacks and violations of human rights in a perfect exemplification of struggle based on class, race, tribe or religion. Foreign state actors such as China have worked to undermine democratic governance in the continent by propping authoritarian regimes or by exacerbating conflict scenarios with profit motivations from sale of arms.

CHAPTER 3

CHINA'S CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICA'S DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

As captured in the introductory chapter of this study, democratic governance imbues certain practices. Core among these is the ability and capacity of the citizens to determine who governs through periodic free, fair, and verifiable elections. Equally critical is the separation of powers in a way that fosters rule of law, justice and socio-economic development. Such ingredients are envisaged to culminate into a society with a responsive leadership and responsible citizenry; whose socio-economic and political activities leads to the betterment of all.

In this chapter, the main focus is on how China's activities in the continent over the years have impacted the practice of democratic governance in Africa. At the onset, it is important to remember that China has adopted a position of non-interference in internal affairs of African countries. This view constitutes a major aspect of their democratic parlance.[102] In other words, China uses the word democracy to denote capacity of individual countries to conduct their domestic affairs in manners consistent with domestically negotiated and agreed upon rules and laws; devoid of foreign meddling or intervention.

Looked at in this sense, China is practically staying away from the polemics of internal governance of African countries.[103] Closely tied to this view, China's partnership with Africa has largely been

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[102]Perry, Elizabeth J., and Ellen V. Fuller. "China's Long March to Democracy." *World Policy Journal* 8, no. 4 (1991): 663-85. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40209232.

[103]Large, Daniel. "China & the Contradictions of 'Non-Interference' in Sudan." *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 115 (2008): 93-106. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20406479.

modelled around economic cooperation[104] that can lead to development and shared prosperity of both Chinese and Africans. So while China remains tightlipped on the forms of governance underway in different African countries, it does believe that pursuing economic empowerment and development of citizens is a transnational virtue.

As seen in the preceding chapter, poverty remains a serious impediment to democratic governance in Africa. Poor people are susceptible to manipulation by leaders and therefore are not in the best position to hold their leaders to account. Economic development and empowerment is therefore a key plank in the pursuit of a democratic society. China's activities in Africa over the years have tended to focus on economic development as a panacea for peace and wellbeing of the people of Africa.[105]

Positive Contributions

3.2 Economic Investments in Africa

China continues to have a number of investments in the continent both by the Chinese state agencies and the private sector. According to the World Bank, China, in 2013, became the largest export and development partner for Africa, representing about a quarter of the regions trade, valued at US$ 3.1 billion.[106] In addition, besides the volumes of trade, Chinese firms continue to open shops in various african countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa, Angola and South Sudan.

[104] Giorgia G. and Marco S. "China's Economic Cooperation with Africa." *Journal of African Development*, 13, 1&2 (2011): 143-177. http://www.jadafea.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/JAD_vol13_ch7complete.pdf

[105] Knight, Malcolm, Norman Loayza, and Delano Villanueva. "The Peace Dividend: Military Spending Cuts and Economic Growth." *Staff Papers (International Monetary Fund)* 43, no. 1 (1996): 1-37. doi:10.2307/3867351.

[106] Miria Pigato and Wenxia Tang. "China and Africa: Expanding Economic Ties in an Evolving Global Context". World Bank. https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Event/Africa/Investing%20in%20Africa%20Forum/2015/investing-in-africa-forum-china-and-africa-expanding-economic-ties-in-an-evolving-global-context.pdf

Through these ventures, African citizens access gainful employment, translating to improvements in their lives.

3.3 Peace and Security

The eventual aim of democracy is to create a society where peace, security and cohesion prevails.[107] Africa has for a long time experienced international peace and security explosions with serious ramifications in the lives of the citizens.[108] The continent has witnessed a number of conflicts such as civil wars, ethnic debauchery and even genocide. Such conflicts often leave societies battered with wanton violations of human rights. Besides deaths and maiming, destruction of productive property that hoists a country's economic embers have also been destroyed in many countries in the continent including Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, and South Sudan.

Within such warring atmosphere, it is impossible to achieve peace - a precondition for democratic governance. The decision by China to contribute to peace keeping in the continent can therefore be seen as an input in Africa's quest for democratic governance and development. Currently, Chinese peacekeepers are serving in a number of African countries such as South Sudan and Central Africa Republic.[109] The troops, seconded through the United Nations, is in keeping with Chinese modus operandi of non-interference; only intervening through approved frameworks, with consent of recipient states. It further reinforces the view that African problems require African solutions, and

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[107] Campbell, Horace. "China in Africa: Challenging US Global Hegemony." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2008): 89-105. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20455027.

[108] Wallensteen, Peter, and Margareta Sollenberg. "Armed Conflicts, Conflict Termination and Peace Agreements, 1989-96." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, no. 3 (1997): 339-58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425168.

[109] Mohan, Giles, and Marcus Power. "New African Choices? The Politics of Chinese Engagement." *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 115 (2008): 23-42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20406475.

that development partners can only provide support that is consistent with such aspirations, without unilateral interventions. In South Sudan for instance, China had contributed 314 troops to the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) by May 2014, besides offering to mediate the warring factions within South Sudan.[110]

Furthermore, the latest move by China to intervene in the simmering conflict between Djibouti and Eritrea is emblematic of the thinking by Beijing that security is a key panacea of sustainable development and therefore, it is important to manage conflicts in early stages before they explode.[111]   In addition, China's expansive economic interests in Djibouti, lends credence to the move by Beijing to root for peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two countries.

Drawing from its own experience of rapid economic growth in the backdrop of stability and security at home, China has promoted the security-development nexus in Africa both with individual African states but also through collective platforms such as the African Union.

At the Forum for China Africa Cooperation in 2015, African leaders through the African Union, requested China's assistance to the continent with capacity building, intelligence sharing, and joint training for its security personnel. China consented, promising vocational training workshops for two hundred thousand personnel, and thirty thousand government scholarships.[112] So far, Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania Ghana and Zimbabwe are among African countries whose security personnel have received training from China. In addition, China committed to provide 60 million U.S. dollars

[110]"China's Troop Contributions to U.N. Peacekeeping," United States Institute of Peace, December 28, 2016, accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.usip.org/publications/2016/07/chinas-troop-contributions-un-peacekeeping.

[111]AfricaNews, "Eritrea-Djibouti border dispute: China opts to intervene," Africanews, July 23, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.africanews.com/2017/07/23/eritrea-djibouti-border-dispute-china-opts-to-intervene//.

[112]"China has overtaken the US and UK as the top destination for anglophone African students." Quartz. June 29, 2017. Accessed September 29, 2017. https://qz.com/1017926/china-has-overtaken-the-us-and-uk-as-the-top-destination-for-anglophone-african-students/.

in free assistance to the African Union to build and maintain both its regular army and crisis response, as well as support UN peacekeeping in Africa.

China has also emerged as a preferred source for military and police tools and equipment; aimed at fostering homeland security from internal gangs, and other forms of threat such as terrorism.[113]

Building capacity of African countries to provide domestic security is a key plank in achieving sustainable peace and development in the continent. In addition, interventions through organs such as the UN and AU in volatile African situations have significantly contributed to reduction in loss of life, destruction of property and erosion of human rights in a number of African countries.

3.4 Fight Against Terrorism and Piracy in Africa

Terrorism is a major hindrance to democratic governance. Besides causing loss of lives and destruction of property, terrorists also soar religious and political schism among the citizenry; leading to division, and hatred. In Kenya for example, terror outfits like the Al-Shabaab have meted wanton killings and atrocities as seen from the Westgate Mall and Garissa University attacks.[114] The neighboring country of Somalia, and Nigeria in West Africa have all experienced the scourge of terrorism.

In an attempt to respond to the phenomenon of terrorism, a number of African governments have promulgated laws and regulations that are inconsistent with threshold for human freedom and

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[113]Ashley Cowburn, "Two-thirds of African countries now using Chinese military equipment, report reveals," The Independent, March 01, 2016, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/two-thirds-of-african-countries-now-using-chinese-military-equipment-a6905286.html.
[114] BBC News. "Kenya attack: 147 dead in Garissa University assault.". April 03, 2015. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32169080.

liberties.[115] Innocent people have been arrested; women and children tortured in the process. The outcry following a government crackdown on terror elements in Eastleigh in Nairobi,[116] manifests the complexity of securing the population without tramping on the rights and freedoms of the citizenry.

Piracy is another crime that remains a challenge to African governments along coastlines and nations operating ships and other vessels in the international waters.[117] Because of the breakdown in law and order in Somalia, pirates off its coast have taken advantage of the vacuum to stage kidnappings, followed by demand for ransoms.

The resultant effect of these two international crimes makes affected African economies less attractive to investments and stagnates socio-economic development. China is working with Africa to reverse this anomaly and restore law and order.[118] By wadding off pirates off the coast of Somalia, to leveraging existing continental frameworks such as the African Union to intervene in countering terrorism in Somalia, China is making very meaningful contribution to Africa's quest for peace and security, all of which are intractable ingredients of democratic governance.

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[115] Jazeera, Al. "Kenya president signs tough 'anti-terror' law." News | Al Jazeera. December 19, 2014. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/12/kenya-passes-divisive-anti-terror-law-2014121974313523159.html.

[116] "Deaths and Disappearances," Human Rights Watch, July 12, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/07/20/deaths-and-disappearances/abuses-counterterrorism-operations-nairobi-and.

[117] J. Ashley Roach. "Countering Piracy off Somalia: International Law and International Institutions." *The American Journal of International Law* 104, no. 3 (2010): 397-416. doi:10.5305/amerjintelaw.104.3.0397.

[118] Carothers, Thomas. "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terror." *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 1 (2003): 84-97. doi:10.2307/20033430.

3.5 Governance, Values and Institutions

Increased exchanges between African countries and China on the realm of governance has brought certain positive results in a number of African countries. First, while China is not practicing democracy as conceived by the West, it has working values and systems that could help Africa move forward. In the matter of corruption and despoliation of public resources, Beijing maintains a very punitive stance.[119] Wastage and theft of public resources by those in authority continue to bedevil Africa where countries such as Kenya, despite their economic potential, remains underdeveloped.[120]

African economies that are increasingly leaning toward the Beijing model of Authoritarian capitalism such as Rwanda and Ethiopia, have registered lower levels of corruption; leading to greater investments in projects of national good.[121] By laying emphasis on economic rights over political and civil rights, Ethiopia and Rwanda have emerged as the fastest growing economies in Africa.

Kenya too, has greatly invested in infrastructure particularly roads, railways, ports; and energy with Chinese support. These investments are expected to foster integration, and movement of goods and services, lowering the cost of doing business while encouraging investments and wealth creation. Economic empowerment being a basis for democratic governance, it is fair to look at the deepening Sino-African relations as founding a strong base for democratic governance and enjoyment of human rights in Africa.

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[119] "'One million' Chinese officials punished for corruption." BBC News. October 24, 2016. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-37748241.
[120] Kaufmann, Daniel. "Corruption: The Facts." *Foreign Policy*, no. 107 (1997): 114-31. doi:10.2307/1149337.
[121] "Can Ethiopia be Africa's leading manufacturing hub?" BBC News. August 24, 2017. Accessed October 24, 2017. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41035141.

3.6 Non-interference in Domestic Affairs of African States

By not interference in the domestic political affairs of African states, China promotes the state centric view that domestic matters are better decided by the citizens. Even in high stake countries such as Kenya and South Africa, China has let the political processes to proceed without intervention. A good example was the August 8, 2017 Kenyan polls. Most observers from the West concluded that the presidential elections were free, fair and credible.[122] The opposition contested the verdict and filed a petition at the Supreme Court, which later nullified the elections on the basis of irregularities and illegalities.[123] While the opposition has since lampooned the Western observers as aiding subversion of people's will in the Kenyan polls, China was not a target of such attacks; thanks to its hands-off approach in domestic affairs of African states.

To China's credit, no African country has expressed reservations with its conduct in its internal affairs. This is in contrast to other development partners who have been seen to interfere or meddle in governance of Africa states. Instead, China has made it a policy to come in only where an African country would like specific support, mostly economic as seen from the numerous investment projects; or political as was the case with support for Kenya against the ICC cases.[124]

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[122] "Kenya election was fair, no sign of manipulation - EAC, EU observers." The Star, Kenya. August 10, 2017. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2017/08/10/kenya-election-was-fair-no-sign-of-manipulation-eac-eu-observers_c1614022.

[123] Freytas-tamura, Kimiko De. "Kenya Supreme Court Nullifies Presidential Election." The New York Times. September 01, 2017. Accessed October 24, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/01/world/africa/kenya-election-kenyatta-odinga.html.

[124] Alden, Chris, and Ana Cristina Alves. "History & Identity in the Construction of China's Africa Policy." *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 115 (2008): 43-58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20406476.

Weaknesses

3.7 State centric approach to governance matters

While China has done well with its stance of equal partner cooperation with a number of African countries, it has not been effective in terms of people to people connection and dialogue. It is virtually impossible to find Chinese and Africans, engaging on the subject of governance, outside government programmes; except in academic circles, where such collaborations are gaining currency.

One of the key actors identified in the study as contributing to Africa's democratic governance is the civil society groups. Because of the focus on specific issues pertinent to governance such as human rights, democracy, transparency and accountability; civil society has become a critical rallying point and effective platform for agitation of good governance in the continent. China does not support civil society movements, as much as the West.

Given that civil society forms an important platform for people to people engagement and interaction on thematic matters, it is one area where China might want to consider involvement. It is a fact that as China increasingly invests in Africa, it will also increasingly be desiring good governance in the continent to safeguard its interests and engender a mutually beneficial relationship with Africa. As such, China should begin to focus on all instruments, organs and process that foster the practice of democratic governance in the continent.

3.8 Sale of equipment of torture to African governments.

Every country has an obligation to secure its citizens and attendant property. For this reason, African governments continue to build their military and police arsenal in order to effectively respond to both internal and external threats to national security. China has become a major source of military tools and police equipment and hardware. While it is perfectly legitimate for China to do business with Africa, some of its products have been deployed to suppress dissent and alternative political views in a number of African jurisdictions.[125]

In the run up to the 2017 Kenyan elections, the country imported much military hardware from China, which were later deployed to counter protests by the citizens following the declaration of the Presidential election results. In addition, Amnesty International and the Omega Research Foundation recently published a report in which the two organizations point to booming sales of torture equipment to African governments.[126]

But these are just the latest instances where China has been accused of inadvertently fueling erosion of human rights in the continent. In the long running battle in the Eastern of Congo, several accounts have pointed to Chinese small arms being used to kill civilians. [127] China has also been accused of fueling conflicts in Africa through sale of arms to rogue regimes; even in the face of UN sanctions, as was the case with Sudan.[128]

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[125]Shinn, David H. "China and the Conflict in Darfur." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 16, no. 1 (2009): 85-100. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24590742.

[126]"Amnesty International," Chinas booming torture trade revealed, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/09/china-s-booming-torture-trade-revealed/.

[127]"Amnesty International," DR Congo: Arms supplies fueling unlawful killings and rape, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/06/dr-congo-arms-supplies-fuelling-unlawful-killings-and-rape/.

[128]Hilary Andersson, "China 'is fueling war in Darfur'," BBC News, July 13, 2008, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7503428.stm.

So while it not the responsibility of China to dictate to African regimes how best to use the products bought from China, it is rational that when credible accounts of excessive deployments of such tools are received by China, as a leading global player, international community expect judicious dealings with such regimes.

3.9 Expensive Loans and Shady Contracts

China continue to commit substantial amounts of loans to African countries, as a way of assisting the continent to foster its socio-economic development. However, the loans are offered at expensive interest rates and recipient projects often undertaken without adequate transparency safeguards and public participation. In the process, financial commitment by African countries to China continue to raise the debt burden which is then passed to the citizens to service. Subsequently, monies that could have gone into productive sectors are channeled towards debt services; denying citizens development and attainment of rights to education, water, health, adequate infrastructure and much more.

Chapter Summary

Premised on the cores propositions of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the socio-economic, and political affairs of sovereign states, China has leveraged on this Marxist argument to cement its relationship with Africa. The state centric approach in dealing with African governments and the emphasis on economic cooperation further exemplifies a Marxist approach in Sino-African relations. The shared prosperity gospel as spelt out by the Chinese is backed up by the resolve by Beijing to undertake strategic investments in the continent; while building structures and instruments to enable it better protect or project its power through humanitarian, peacekeeping and fight against terrorism.

The use of multinational corporations to undertake economic activities in African countries with little regards to human rights or local environmental protection regulations - the aim being to maximize on profits while minimizing cost of production, has heavily featured in the study findings. In the end, China ends up with profit margins at the expense of the source markets for the raw materials or the labour- Africa.

As was the case with imperial colonial powers that took out much of Africa's raw materials to foster industrialization in their own countries, China-Africa relations continues to manifest skewed benefit in favour of Beijing. It therefore calls for strategic thinking on the side of the African countries to engineer better ways of collaboration for the relationship to emerge as truly win-win.

The findings have spoken to the second objective of the study as they detail the contributions of China in Africa's democratic quest. While altruistic in many fronts, China's activities in the continent have equally had negative impact on Africa's democratic governance; affirming the corresponding hypothesis that China's non-interference policy in internal affairs of African countries impedes the practice and consolidation of democratic governance and development in the continent.

CHAPTER 4

DRIVERS OF 21ST CENTURY SINO-AFRICAN RELATIONS

4.1 Introduction

As captured in the opening chapter, the relationship between China and African countries continues to register phenomenal growth on several fronts. While the most dominant feature in the relationship regards economics, both primary and secondary data points to a more nuanced and broader collaboration. This chapter delves into the drivers of the relationship that has seen China and Africa enjoy cordial ties.

4.2 Economic Cooperation

The study identified economic cooperation as a key pillar driving Sino-African relations. The findings are in tandem with reviewed literature that revealed the two entities enjoy cordial economic ties with China being the biggest trading partner for Africa, since 2009. With volumes of trade pegged at US$ 166 billion in 2014 and a further projection of US$ 1.7 trillion by 2030,[129] it is not hard to see why the two are keen to broaden their cooperation on this front. This economic cooperation is buoyed by a number of factors unique to either or both China and Africa.

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[129]Mark Esposito, "What does Chinas role in Africa say about its growing global footprint?" The Conversation, September 28, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://theconversation.com/what-does-chinas-role-in-africa-say-about-its-growing-global-footprint-49474.

4.2.1 Africa's burgeoning middleclass

Home to over 1.2 billion people, Africa is experiencing a blossoming middleclass, alongside exponential economic growth in the backdrop of rapid urbanization. This presents a demand for various types of consumer goods and services in the continent. Various sectorshave attracted Chinese firms which supply affordable products such as electronics, textiles and machinery. China has invested an estimated $22 billion in power generation, natural resource extraction, infrastructure, finance, and textiles in Africa.

The rapid urbanization has also presented an opportunity in the infrastructure sector for roads, housing, and power among others. A number of Chinese firms are currently implementing several infrastructure projects in East Africa: from railways, roads, real estate to wind power stations. In Kenya, the Standard Gauge Railway, Thika Superhighway, Turkana Wind Power and the University of Nairobi Towers are just but a few examples that have been actualized with the help of Chinese technology and labour.

The iconic African Union headquarters and the first high speed railway line connecting Ethiopia to Djibouti stand out in the north while in Tanzania, the Chinese are helping build a first modern port. Several examples of infrastructure projects are underway in Uganda, and Rwanda as well.[130]

In addition, China is offering 97% zero-tariff treatment to taxable items from the African countries that have established diplomatic relations with China.[131]

There has also been increased interest in Africa by Chinese private investors with the latest case in point being the visit to Africa by the Billionaire Jack Ma, founder of Alibaba Group of companies.

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[130]Zafar, Ali. "The Growing Relationship between China and Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic, Trade, Investment and Aid Links." *The World Bank Research Observer* 22, no. 1 (2007): 103-30

[131] China offers zero tariff treatments to 4762 products from Bangladesh and other 32 Least Developed Countries. Accessed October 21, 2017. http://bd.china-embassy.org/eng/xwdt/t713211.htm.

Ma announced establishment of US$ 10 million Enterprise Fund to support emerging firms in Africa[132]; bolstering the trend among private and state owned Chinese firms' investments in Africa.

4.2.2 China's need for Africa's raw materials

There is increasing demand for Africa's raw materials by Chinese industries. While China continues to broaden its economic diplomacy in Africa to manufacturing and service sectors, the primacy of the cooperation is anchored on the need to acquire raw materials for its growing industrial base. This explains why China's focus is concentrated in resource rich countries such as Angola, Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Sudan. The expansive reservoir of raw materials such as oil, timber and minerals continue to attract China into the continent. China which is the second largest oil importer after the United States, has for instance invested over US$ 440 million in Sudanese oil fields; in return importing up to 8% of oil needs from Sudan[133], a figure which has risen to US$ 15 billion today. To further gain ground in Africa, Chinese government has encouraged oil companies to aggressively scout for and exploit oil in the continent; availing various forms of diplomatic and financial support.[134]

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[132] "Jack Ma launches a US$10 million African Young Entrepreneurs Fund". CIO. Accessed August 12, 2017. https://www.cio.co.ke/news/jack-ma-launches-us10-million-african-young-entrepreneurs-fund/
[133] Thomas Scharping. China Policy Interests in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cologne China Studies Online. 2002.
[134] Erica S. Downs. The Fact and Fiction of Sino-African Energy Relations. China Security, Vol. 3 No. 3 Summer 2007, pp. 42 – 68.

4.2.3 China's interests in Africa's expanding labour pool

Africa's impressive demographic dividend – composed of youthful and increasingly skilled workforce makes it attractive to Chinese companies.[135] In addition, as labour costs go high in China, it has become necessary for the Chinese companies to shop for alternative cost effective destinations to carry out light manufacturing. Africa therefore perfectly fits in this aspiration. Several Chinese firms have consequently set bases in Africa; which comes with an additional advantage of access to competitive markets like United States and European Union through preferential treatment of goods of African origin. The study pointed to the jobs created by Chinese firms operating in african countries as a beneficial aspect of the Sino-African relations.[136]

4.2.4 Economic aid

For a long time, African countries could only look up to their colonial masters or multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for financial and technical support. The coming of China into the scene has however revolutionized access to development aid and technical cooperation to African governments. Contrary to western donors' conditionality related to governance, and transparency, China has offered Africa an alternative that is premised on equality and non-interference in domestic affairs of African states. This policy innovation has made China quite attractive to African governments.

A report by the Africa China Research Initiative indicates that transportation, energy and communication sectors are the biggest beneficiaries with US$ 24.2 billion, US$ 26.6 billion, and

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[135] Kate M. "The Scramble for Africans: Demography, Globalization and Africa's Informal Labour Markets." *The Journal of Development Studies*, 52, No. 4 (2016): 483-497

[136]Zafar, Ali. "The Growing Relationship between China and Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic, Trade, Investment and Aid Links." *The World Bank Research Observer* 22, No. 1 (2007): 103-30

US$ 6.5 billion respectively. The loans, according to the report are advanced to African countries by various Chinese entities such the Ministry of Commerce, Export-Import Bank, China Development Bank and commercial banks.

Some of the strategies employed by China include debt forgiveness, grants, preferential loans and technical cooperation and assistance. In the month of August 2017, for instance, China extended debt forgiveness to the Government of Sudan to a tune of US$ 160 million. The announcement made during a visit by Chinese Vice-Premier of the State Council Zhang Gaoli also included further US$ 75 million in development assistance.[137] The China-Africa Development Fund, special loans for African small and medium-sized enterprises, the Africa Growing Together Fund, China-Africa Industrial Cooperation Fund, and the BRICS' New Development Bank are only part of a panoply of measures put in place by China to woo Africa into its economic fold.[138]

The study revealed that the flexibility with which China is dealing with Africa in the domain of economic aid made it a preferred source of development financing as most African countries lack local capacity to execute impactful projects using their own means.[139]

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[137]"Sudan Gets $160 Million in Debt Relief From China," Al Bawaba, August 27, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.albawaba.com/business/china-offers-sudan-160-million-debt-relief-sudan-tribune-1014624.

[138] African Development Bank. "AfDB announces US $2 billion fund with China," accessed October 21, 2017, https://www.afdb.org/en/news-and-events/afdb-announces-us-2-billion-fund-with-china-13165/.

[139]Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Joseph Onjala, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

4.3 Military Cooperation

Working in concert with economic cooperation is military synergy between China and Africa. the study revealed that the relationship between the two entities on the military front is equally blossoming; with the latest being the operationalization of the first Chinese overseas military base in Djibouti.[140] The Base which is emblematic of the greater strategy by China to cement its place global power politics, as reported by the State run Global Times,[141] is not located in Africa by accident. Given its increasing investments in the continent and need to protect trade routes, it is incumbent upon China to design and maintain meaningful military presence in the continent. Beyond the Base, the study has shown that China and Africa are working together in a number of areas. Key among them is capacity building for African armies as well as the AU fronted Africa Standby Force.[142] Beijing has also emerged as key supplier of police and military software and hardware to African countries.

4.4 Fight against piracy and terrorism in Africa

China has since 2008 deployed war ships to undertake escorting missions and to ward off pirates off the coast of Somalia in the Gulf of Eden. The deployments have also targeted humanitarian assistance where pirates have taken control of vessels belonging either to China or other nationalities. But while the Djibouti Base will enhance capacity of China to perform its international

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[140] Dwyer, Colin. "China Dispatches Troops To Djibouti To Set Up Its First Overseas Base." NPR. July 12, 2017. Accessed October 21, 2017. http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/07/12/536824843/china-dispatches-troops-to-djibouti-to-set-up-its-first-overseas-base.

[141] Times, Global. "PLA sets up overseas support base in Djibouti." Global Times. Accessed October 21, 2017. http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1055949.shtml.

[142] Lucie Morangi. "China to continue supporting peace in Africa through UN missions." China to continue supporting peace in Africa through UN missions. Chinadaily.com.cn. Accessed October 21, 2017. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2016-07/29/content_26269149.htm

obligations in escort and humanitarian missions, its establishment is also poised to further protect China's interest in the region. Djibouti offers China strategic access to the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, one of the most important sea lanes in the world. Millions of barrels of oil are transported through the Strait on daily basis.

While China has maintained a policy of non-interference in domestic affairs of African states; and has not, to its credit, acted aggressively against any African state, the problem of terrorism compounds its hands-akimbo foreign policy in the continent.

With huge economic investments in Africa, an attack by the non-state actors like terrorist groups could roll back prospects for the Asian giant in the continent. The increased military presence by China in Africa, can therefore be seen in this light: to protect investments from terrorist attacks while remaining ready to undertake emergency evacuations for its nationals in the event of denigration of law and order as happened in Libya.

4.5 Peace and Security in Africa.

It is a fact that peace and security is a guarantee of sustainable investments and human development.[143] Despite its attractive and expansive raw materials, Africa is still home to a number of intra-state and interstate conflicts;[144] acts that are inconsistent with safeguards to attract foreign investors including China, into the continent

This has largely informed the move by Beijing to aggressively participate in peacekeeping missions in Africa, through United Nations. China in 2015 contributed 8000 troops, a fifth of the UN

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[143] Keith K. & Oliver J. "Peace, Security and Development in Post-Conflict Environments." *Security Dialogue,* 36, No. 4. (2005): 447-462

[144] Wallensteen, Peter, and Margareta Sollenberg. "Armed Conflicts, Conflict Termination and Peace Agreements, 1989-96." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, no. 3 (1997): 339-58. http://www.jstor.org/stable/425168.

peacekeeping standby force.[145] In addition, China pledged US$ 100 million to the African Union standby force and a further US$ 1 billion towards the establishment of the UN Peace and Development Trust Fund. Across Africa, China has committed over 2,500 soldiers in blue-helmet missions. In South Sudan, where China gets 5% oil imports, 1051 Chinese soldiers are on the ground with additional 666 and 402 serving in Liberia and Mali respectively. [146]

This upsurge in China's intervention in African security speaks to the resolve by Beijing to cushion its economic interest while enhancing safety of its estimated one million nationals working in various countries in Africa.

Even though it does look like China is on a self-preservation mission in Africa, its actions can also be seen to be altruistic. Lasting peace and security is critical to the socio-economic and political wellbeing of Africa. It is therefore important to recognize that while actions of partners such as China could be self-serving, in the grand scheme of things, Africa stands to benefit too.

4.6 Arms trade.

Like any country around the world, African states have a responsibility to maintain domestic peace and territorial integrity of theirs borders. With emergence of terror groups, unlawful gangs and other groups of law breakers in Africa, it is incumbent upon various governments to acquire equipment and tools that can be used to safeguard the societal good. China sells to African countries various military and police equipment.[147] The low prized weapons and ammunitions compared to other

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[145]"China's Troop Contributions to U.N. Peacekeeping," United States Institute of Peace, December 28, 2016, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.usip.org/publications/2016/07/chinas-troop-contributions-un-peacekeeping.
[146] Ibid
[147]Klare, Michael, and Daniel Volman. "America, China & the Scramble for Africa's Oil." *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (2006): 297-309. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4007165.

suppliers, makes China a preferred destination for African countries in search of tools relevant to the enterprise of law and order. It is estimated that about two thirds of militaries in Africa currently use military equipment, including infantry vehicles, combat aircraft, naval ships, small arms and ammunition bought from.[148] This makes China the second largest supplier of military hardware to the African continent after United States, with a market share of 26%.[149] The biggest beneficiaries of the booming arms deal with China include Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan.

But China's military presence in Africa is not a 21st century phenomenon. As early as 1950's, gleamed from the Bandung Conference,[150] China offered military support to independence and revolutionary movements in the continent. China provided 75% of all external military aid to Organization for African Unity's liberation committee between 1971 and 1972.[151]

As the Cold War came to an end, Chinese weaponry began to penetrate the African markets, beating earlier sources such as the Soviet Union. In keeping with this dramatic twist, Chinese arms exports to Africa were the third largest between 2003 and 2006.[152]

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[148]Jonathan Katzenellenbogen, "China makes big inroads into African defense market," DefenceWeb, February 26, 2016, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=42518%3Achina-makes-big-inroads-into-african-defence-market&catid=7%3AIndustry&Itemid=116.
[149] Grimmett, Richard F. "Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Countries." Mediterranean Quarterly. May 01, 2002. Accessed October 21, 2017. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/20873/summary.
[150] U.S. Department of State, accessed October 03, 2017, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/bandung-conf.
[151]Chuka Enuka, "China's Military Presence in Africa: Implications for Africa's Woobling Peace," Journal of Asia Pacific Studies 02, no. 01 (2016)
[152] Bid

4.7 Diplomacy as an anchor of Sino-Africa relations

Because of the concerted effort by China, including delivering tangible projects to various African states over the years, the Asian Communist State has formalized diplomatic ties with a number of African countries; where mutual recognition is emphasized. The recognition has offered China legitimacy at global multilateral settings like the United Nations.

Beyond the need for recognition, African countries have severally come to the rescue of China within the community of nations. For instance, in 1972, it was the vote by 26 African countries that saw the People's Republic of China get back its seat at the United Nations.[153]

In the wake of the Tiananmen Square incident, China faced a major diplomatic isolation and sanctions from the West; but found open arms among Africans. This explains why in 1989, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited six African countries including Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe.[154] Consequently, every new year since 1991, Chinese foreign ministers have visited Africa as part of the first overseas visit.

In addition, Kenya was recently caught in a diplomatic and legal burb with Taiwan when it extradited Taiwanese nationals, arrested for breaking law and order, to China.[155] These developments have been buoyed by the leverage that China offers African countries in platforms such as UN, in the face of dominant players like the United States.

[153]Struggle to restore China's lawful seat in the United Nations, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/3602_665543/3604_665547/t18013.shtml.
[154] Chris Alden & Cristina Alves. "History & Identity in the Construction of China's Africa Policy." *Review of African Political Economy*, 35, No. 115 (2008): 43-58

[155]Lily Kuo, "China and Taiwan's latest clash is over the fate of 45 accused of cyber-crime in Kenya," Quartz, April 22, 2016, accessed September 29, 2017, https://qz.com/667853/china-and-taiwans-latest-clash-is-over-the-fate-of-45-accused-of-cyber-crime-in-kenya/.

4.8. Political Synergy between China and Africa

Political interests have for decades defined the relationship between China and Africa. The exemplification of the greater ties between the two entities came to the fore during the Cold War period; where newly independent states in Africa became targets of China in its quest to consolidate a political foothold in international politics.[156] Being both victims of colonization and other forms of subjugation, China's camaraderie gospel to Africa was not a hard sell. In addition, the non-aligned position taken by African countries during the Cold War, made it possible for entities such as China to court the continent.[157]

Another building block in the political dalliance between China and Africa concerns the One China policy that seeks non-recognition of Taiwan as an independent state. The issue is so critical to China that it continues to use its economic, diplomatic and political muscles to achieve non-recognition of Taipei. Niger, Chad and Malawi, severed their diplomatic ties with Taiwan in 1996, 2006 and 2008 respectively, to build formal relationships with China.[158] The Gambia, became the latest African country to abandon Taiwan for China, in 2013. Only two African countries namely: Burkina Faso and Swaziland, continue to recognize Taiwan over China.

Also key in the Chinese foreign policy towards Africa is the desire to surmount the dominant United States presence in the continent.[159] At the moment, African countries see in China a partner to whom they can turn for both economic and political support. China has stood with African leaders such as

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[156] Ibid
[157]Hassan, A. D. "China and Non-alignment." *India International Centre Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1976): 65-67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23002006.
[158]Besada, Hany. "The Implications of China's Ascendancy for Africa." *The Centre for International Governance Innovation Working Paper* No. 40. (October 25, 2008). Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1289787 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1289787
[159]Campbell, Horace. "China in Africa: Challenging US Global Hegemony." *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2008): 89-105. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20455027.

in the case against Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta at the ICC. At the UN, China expressed displeasure with the case and showed solidarity with Kenya.[160]

By fronting a policy of non-interference in internal affairs of African states; and emphasizing the principle of equality and sovereignty with African partners, Beijing has become an easy and available collaborator for Africa.

Among the policy innovations is the move by Beijing to court two categories of states in Africa which offers it the greatest leverage. On one hand, China is courting a group of resource rich countries such as Angola, Democratic of Congo and Sudan. On the other, Beijing is equally keen to rope in politically influential counties such as South Africa, in the South; Kenya in the East; and Nigeria in the West. These two categories ensure China gets the resources it needs from the continent while having partners through which it can easily sell its policies and gain a footing in the continent.

The political undertones in the relationships has also been seen through political party cooperation between China and African countries.[161] China's ruling party, CPC has had a number of exchanges on governance experience with African counterparts. Premised on the four principles of: independence, equality, mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, CPC has had visits to countries such as Kenya, Egypt, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Tunisia and Tanzania. In its exchanges, CPC does not discriminate ruling parties from the opposition parties. In Kenya, for instance, both Orange Democratic Movement (opposition) and Jubilee Coalition (ruling coalition); have interacted with CPC. In addition, African political parties have equally visited CPC,

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[160] United Nations. "Security Council Resolution Seeking Deferral of Kenyan Leaders' Trial Fails to Win Adoption, with 7 Voting in Favour, 8 Abstaining Accessed October 21, 2017. https://www.un.org/press/en/2013/sc11176.doc.htm

[161]Shinn, David H. "Africa: The United States and China Court the Continent." Journal of International Affairs 62, no. 2 (2009): 37-53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24358193.

to further learn from their experience on governance. The inauguration of President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2013, was attended by a high powered delegation from the CPC.[162]

Central in CPC's messaging to African parties are key points that have been attributed to China's meteoric rise. They include: safeguarding internal stability, economic construction, and improving the quality of life for the citizens.[163]

During the visits, African delegations have been exposed to academic lectures and presentations, extensive interactions with Chinese officials and field visits to key installations for further learning and benchmarking. The areas of concern are often wide, encapsulating agriculture, reform and opening-up, infrastructure construction, healthcare, poverty reduction, education, entrepreneurship and participatory party building.

While CPC continues to engage African political parties at country level; it has also been proactive in supporting governance reform initiatives in the continent through avenues such as the African Union on key issues like integration and Pan Africanism. [164]

Ethiopia, which has been an ardent follower of Chinese model of socio-economic and political organizing has emerged as a strong economy in the East African region; attracting huge Chinese investments and donor support.

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[162]Edmund Blair, "Kenya to swear in president, leave West with headache," Reuters, April 08, 2013, accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.reuters.com/article/us-kenya-elections-inauguration/kenya-to-swear-in-president-leave-west-with-headache-idUSBRE93714J20130408.
[163] Ibid
[164] Ibid

4.9 Governance Discourse Between China and Africa

Governance sits at the core of a country's development. For a long time, and without intrinsic models or theories of governance, African countries have had to follow governance structures and philosophies inherited from colonial powers or those fashioned by global powers and institutions such as the United States and the United Nations respectively.

The State Centric capitalism, pursued by China deeply contrasts with the western capitalism where the individual bears the premium in socio-economic and political organizing. In western conceptualization, democratic governance is a prerequisite to sustainable socio-economic development and shared prosperity. This view has been dominant in messaging by the state, non-state Western development partners of Africa.

The difficulty of implementing such Western ideals in Africa, has often pitted various African governments against former colonial powers and other development partners; creating a binary choice of towing the line or facing specified consequences such as sanctions and other forms of isolation.

China's demonstrated ability to develop without democratizing, has provided a linchpin to African countries which for a long time have yearned for alternatives.[165] As the Asian tiger increased its global power and influence, one geographical area where it has received warm welcome is Africa.

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[165]Breslin, Shaun. "The 'China Model' and the Global Crisis: From Friedrich List to a Chinese Mode of Governance?" *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*87, no. 6 (2011): 1323-343. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41306993

Now, African countries have a partner to look up to on matters politics and development without the strain of conditionalities.[166]

Consequently, a number of African countries are increasingly looking towards China for a governance narrative that could be deployed in respective countries based on the principle of true equality and hand-off approach in internal affairs of African states. This is one of the dominant themes being pursued within FOCAC.

Chapter Summary

This Chapter has examined the drivers of Sino-African relations. At the top of the drivers are economic manifested by investments by Chinese state and private enterprises, economic aid, development support, need for market for the Chinese finished products and the search for raw materials and cheap labour from Africa. At the same time, the relationship between China and Africa has also been forged alongside military, diplomatic, political and governance fronts.

The identified drivers fit within the Marxists paradigm. China has effectively used both domestic and international political and economic institutions and frameworks to gain a footing in Africa. choosing to work bilaterally and through multilateral settings like the UN, African Union, and IGAD, China has penetrated the continent which is now source of raw materials and labour to pump its industries, in a relationship that does not benefit Africa as much as it benefits China.

Other forays like the military cooperation and peace and security operations by China in Africa are policy innovations that are meant to palliate and assuage fears on the part of African leaders of China's intentions to continue profiting from its relationship with the continent. Peacekeeping and

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[166]Woods, Ngaire. "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*84, no. 6 (2008): 1205-221. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144989

the military installations are meant to foster business operations while making it possible to protect the lives of Chinese nationals in the continent.

The theory is therefore useful in explaining the lopsided relationship between China and Africa in terms of business gains and the increasing systemic platforms which China continue to leverage on in its dealings with Africa.

The Chapter findings meet the objective of the study to examine and determine the drivers of the Sino-Africa relations, and also affirm the hypothesis that the deepening collaboration between China and Africa is driven by driven by economic, political, security and ideological considerations.

CHAPTER 5

PRESENTATION, SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS OF CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN 21ST CENTURY AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents summary and analysis of findings on the topic challenges to democratic governance in 21st Century Africa: role of China. The findings are presented in two components; the first relating to the overall picture of status and impediments to democratic governance in the continent while the second dwells on the deepening Sino-African relations and its implications for democratic governance in Africa.

The study involved 30 respondents, five of which were key informants. The respondents were Africans of both gender, drawn from five countries namely: Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Benin. In addition, both primary and secondary sources were used arrive at the findings below.

5.2 Challenges of Democratic Governance in 21st Century Africa
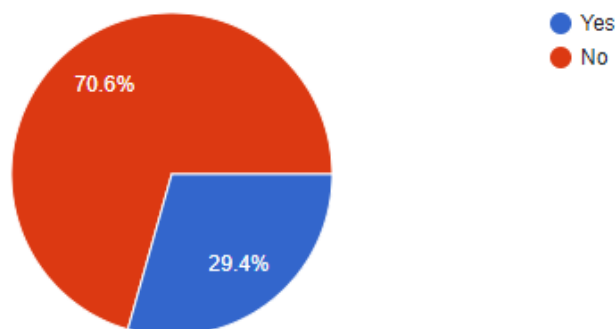
From the findings, 70% of the 30 respondents noted that Africa's democratic governance is not vibrant. While many African states had adopted governance frameworks that put primacy on respect

for human rights and the rule of law, respondents felt, the spirit of entrenching democratic governance in the continent was still lacking.

The findings pointed to countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda where incumbents have succeeded in amending the constitution to extend or remove presidential term limits. Such actions have been accompanied by attacks on dissenting voices, with killings, detentions and mass displacement of people from original homes, as was the case with Burundi, following the decision by President Nkurunziza to run for a third term.

Freedom of the press and freedom of expression, assembly and access to information is under attack in Tanzania where the study revealed government crackdown on media outlets and journalists deemed not to be supportive of the regime. This is exemplified by jailing of journalists and closure of media outlets such as Mawio newspaper[167].

The affront to democratic governance in the continent, the findings indicated, happened even a number of frameworks and institutions dedicated to promote the ideals of democracy and respect to human rights in Africa at national, regional and global levels do exist. Such frameworks include constitutions of various countries, human rights bodies both governmental and non-state. Also identified in the study are IGAD, AU Peace and Security Council, the ICC, Transparency International, among others.

The 30% of respondents who believed that democracy had taken root in Africa, pointed to the August 2017 Kenyan elections where the Supreme Court declared presidential elections results as

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[167]Abdi Latif Dahir, "Tanzania has banned a newspaper for two years as it tightens its media clampdown," Quartz, June 19, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://qz.com/1009353/magufulis-government-has-shut-tanzanian-newspaper-mawio-for-two-years/.

null and void[168]. Kenya was also quoted as observing the freedoms of speech and freedom of the press.[169]

5.2.1 Foreign intervention

According to the study findings, foreign intervention has had mixed results in Africa's democratic governance quest. Initiatives meant to foster democracy and respect for human rights in the continent, through government agencies and civil society have received immense support from external actors.[170] Kenya's elections body, has for example received much support from organizations such as UNDP and EU, to carry our electoral processes such voter registration and sensitization. This is laudable.

External factors such as Transparency International, and the ICC, have equally left a mark on Africa's democratic quest by holding governments accountable, pointing out excesses.[171] Because of their individual and collective actions, regimes in the continent have been forced to observe global norms of democratic governance. The ICC intervention in Kenya has seen violent rhetoric by leaders toned down in 2013 and 2017 elections compared to 2007 elections where the country descended into post poll chaos. Similarly, when ECOWAS intervened in Gambia following refusal of President Yayah Jammeh to relinquish power, normalcy was restored with peaceful change of

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[168] Freytas-tamura, Kimiko De. "Kenya Supreme Court Nullifies Presidential Election." The New York Times. September 01, 2017. Accessed October 21, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/01/world/africa/kenya-election-kenyatta-odinga.html.

[169] Adhere C. Interview with Pamela Sitony, Editor East African, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

[170] Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Muna Wilson, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

[171] Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Patrick Maluki, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

guard.[172] Such actions, in themselves, according to the study, have had positive influences in the wave of democratic consolidation in the continent.

Seen from the point of view of development as an anchor of democracy, the study found that Chinese activities in the continent had created gainful employment opportunities for thousands of African besides opening up access to goods, services through infrastructure development, a desirable end result of democratic governance.

On the other hand, the findings indicate that foreign intervention has the potential of denigrating democratic ideals of good governance and respect to human rights. The study for instance, points to sale of arms by external actors, both state and non-state, to warring parties in South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central Africa Republic as having exercabated the conflicts.[173]

Chinese increased sale of equipment of torture to a number of African countries as pointed out by Amnesty International, could be inadvertently fueling erosion of human rights in recipient states.[174]

Because of the threat of terrorism, the findings indicate that governments in Africa, have legislated laws whose implementation has led to abuse of minority groups, the press and civil society. In addition, terrorism leads to destruction of lives, property and livelihoods, creates ungovernable spaces and triggers restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms like those of movement, association and congregation.[175]

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[172] Ibid
[173]Bitzinger, Richard A. "Arms to Go: Chinese Arms Sales to the Third World." International Security 17, no. 2 (1992): 84-111. doi:10.2307/2539169.
[174] Transparency International, "Arms industry should follow positive steps made by Heckler & Koch." September 22, 2017. Accessed October 21, 2017. https://ti-defence.org/arms-industry-follow-positive-steps-made-heckler-koch/.
[175] Piazza, James A. "Rooted in Poverty?: Terrorism, Poor Economic Development, and Social Cleavages1." Terrorism and Political Violence 18, no. 1 (2006): 159-77. doi:10.1080/095465590944578.

5.2.2 Ethnicity

According to the study, negative ethnicity is another important factor in democratic governance in Africa. Political organizing is undertaken through ethnic mobilization as seen through the Kenyan experience.[176] Ethnic numbers, rather clear and enviable governance principles and track record; are a critical consideration in political and economic engagement. Such systems invalidate meritocracy, creates disunity among the populace and leads to instability as reflected in South Sudan where there is a raging civil war with ethnicity being a key factor in mobilization and engagement.

Often operationalized by leaders keep to gain economic or political power at the exclusion of the rest of the society, negative ethnicity has denied many African countries the dividend of pluralism and multiculturalism in leadership and other forms of socio-economic organizing.

Ethnic is however not a new phenomenon in 21st century Africa. It draws its roots from colonialism, where most colonial powers tended to divide Africa along ethnic lines in order to maintain power and authority over them.[177]

Upon independence of African states, various leaders leveraged and appealed to their ethnic bases as a way of political, and economic mobilizing, giving rise to intense rivalry and politics based on tribalism rather than inclusivity and national outlook. This has come with tragic consequences. In Kenya, the country was plunged into violence in 2007 elections; largely organized and executed through ethnic balkanizing. In South Sudan, the simmering civil war has pitted tribe against tribe

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[176] Ajulu, Rok. "Politicised Ethnicity, Competitive Politics and Conflict in Kenya: A Historical Perspective." African Studies 61, no. 2 (2002): 251-68. doi:10.1080/0002018022000032947.
[177] Ibid.

while Rwanda, the 1994 genocide was a function of negative ethnic politics between Hutus and the Tutsis.[178]

5.2.3 Poverty

The number of people living in extreme poverty has been ion the increase since 1990. About 330 million people were living in extreme poverty in 2012 compared to 280 in 1990.[179] It is this enormous economic disadvantage that makes the prospects of quality democracy remain a challenge in Africa, as review of World Bank data revealed that better performing economies register better governance and democratic ideals compared to poor economies; consistent with study findings.

According to the findings of the study, poverty is a key factor determining democratic governance in Africa. Poor populations are vulnerable to manipulation by politicians and other state operatives; who they see as potential saviours. This has fueled electoral malpractices like vote buying. Because of poverty, citizens are unable to acquire important empowerment tools like education, making such populations incapable of understanding the complexity of governance; for effective organizing.

Given that the practice and values of modern democracy are socially learned and transmitted, poor populations are at a disadvantage when it comes to holding the leaders to account. Given absence of transparency in the operation of authoritarian governments, this gives leeway for corruption and abuse of human rights[180].

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[178] Scott Straus. The Order of Genocide Race, Power, and War in Rwanda. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, July 2008

[179] World Bank. "While Poverty in Africa Has Declined, Number of Poor Has Increased.". Accessed October 21, 2017. http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/publication/poverty-rising-africa-poverty-report

[180] Clive Harber. "Education, Democracy and Poverty Reduction in Africa", *Journal ofComparative Education,* 38: No 3. (2002): 267-276.

Seen through the theory of Marxism, the ruling class continue to amass wealth for themselves, leaving many to the vagaries of hunger and extreme want.[181] This creates enabling conditions for manipulation and control of the masses by the economic and political elite with net effect of a weakened democracy and increased abuses of human rights.

Improving democratic governance in Africa will therefore depend to a large extent on the capacity of the continent to improve socio-economic development of the people as seen through such lenses as improved education, health and nutrition, and better living conditions among the citizens.

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5.2.4 Personal rule

Defined within the purview of this study as a regime where an individual leader remains the sole source of political authority. Access to power is therefore hinged on closeness, and dependence on the leader.[182]

According to study, personal rule remains an important factor in Africa's democratic governance. The continent is still home to world's longest serving leaders who are keen to retain power at all costs. While countries forming ECOWAS have made great progress towards institutionalized governance system that observes term limits and peaceful transfer of power, the Great Lakes region is experiencing democratic reversals. In Rwanda, President Kagame has succeeded in amending the constitution to allow him stay in power for longer. The same spirit is sweeping through Uganda,

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[181]Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Robert Kagiri, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

[182] Farid Guliyev. "Personal rule, neopatrimonialism, and regime typologies: integrating Dahlian and Weberian approaches to regime studies," *Journal of Democratization,* Vol. 18 No. 3, (2011): 575-601

where President Museveni who came to power in 1986 is keen to remove age limit for presidency, having led constitutional amendments that abolished term limits in 2005.[183]

In the neighbouring Burundi, the controversial decision by President Nkurunziza to run for a third term, plunged the country into chaos,[184] while in Tanzania, President Magufuli's attempts to ban opposition rallies, close down press outlets and jail perceived dissidents goes against fundamental universal democratic ideals.

The survival of personal rule depends on many factors: lack of effective institutions that can ensure separation of powers; a culture of impunity and high handedness of the patrimonial leader; and general restraint on the side of the populace to demand for reforms, including dislodging such leaders from power.

Democratic consolidation in Africa will therefore largely be effective and stronger when various populations, working within frameworks created by both domestic and international law engage in greater agitation for better governance and respect to human rights.

5.2.5 Corruption

Merriam Webster Dictionary defines corruption as " as dishonest or illegal behaviour especially by powerful people such as government officials or policers." This definition captures the precise use of the word in the study. Institution building, including those intended to foster accountability and

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[183]"Uganda MPs brawl during presidential age-limit debate," BBC News, September 26, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41398849.

[184]Simon Tisdall, "Violence grips Burundi as President Nkurunziza cleared to run for third term," The Guardian, May 05, 2015, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/05/violence-grips-burundi-president-nkurunziza-cleared-run-third-term.

good governance, takes time to muster and effectively operationalize.[185] In addition, contrary to the expectation that new democracies would take up to a decade to put in place mechanisms and frameworks of accountability,[186] public officials and political leaders have engaged in number of illegal, immoral and dishonest practices in the course of their tenure, decades into independence.

The study found out that corruption and despoliation of public resources by those in authority remains an important factor in Africa's democratic governance. Theft of public resources means that countries have less to spend on development in order to improve livelihoods of citizens. A study has also linked a unit increase in corruption to reduced growth rates of GDP and per capita income by up to 0.9% and 0.41% respectively.[187]

Graft also leads to unqualified individuals holding public office; consequently, hampering effective service delivery to the citizenry. In addition, where government officials work in cohort with criminal gangs; selling nationality to undeserving foreigners, the security of the country and private life and property of citizens is put at risk.

To foster democratic governance in the continent, it is imperative for governments, "secure the rule of law, protect individual rights and freedoms, control corruption and ensure that elections are above reproach."[188]

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[185] Michael T. "Rock Corruption and Democracy", *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 45 No. 1, (2009): 55-75, DOI: 10.1080/00220380802468579

[186] Ibid
[187] Kwabena Gyimah-Brempong. "Corruption, economic growth, and income inequality in Africa." *Journal of Economic of Governance,* 3, No. 3 (2002): 193-209

[188] Mattes, Robert, and Michael Bratton. "Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 192-217.

5.2.6 Frameworks and Institutions

The study findings indicate that respondents are aware of local, regional and global frameworks and institutions working to foster democratic governance in Africa. Key among these frameworks are constitutions that have been adopted by different African countries. The emergence of ICT and attendant domains like the internet have contributed to information sharing among citizens as seen Arab Spring wave and democratic discourse in Kenya. The internet has also provided a veritable platform for government to deliver services to the people; commonly referred to as e-governance.

Institutions such as Kenya Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, International Criminal Court, United Nations, African Union, World Bank, IGAD were mentioned as important in the quest for democratic governance in the continent.

5.2.7 Promotion of Human rights by African governments

The study found that while there is a general expression of desire by various African countries to entrench human rights, as seen from the provisions of various constitutions, the actual will and spirit to implement the law as envisaged remains a challenge. The respondents cited prevalent torture, detentions, extrajudicial killings and muzzling of the freedom of speech in various African jurisdictions.[189]

Such violations, the study found, goes beyond civil and political rights into economic rights where large populations in the continent experience marginalization and discrimination in terms of economic development.

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[189]Adhere C. Interview with Pamela Sitony, Editor East African, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

Women and girls' rights also face numerous violations as various governance frameworks still deny them access to critical factors of production such as land; besides being subjected to harmful practices like the female genital mutilation –practiced in 28 African countries[190], wife inheritance, and restrictions to hold political office.

Progress is being made, however, considering the number of women taking up political offices in Kenya and Rwanda for instance. For the first time since Kenya adopted devolved system of governance in 2010, three women were elected to be governors, while a number have secured parliamentary seats both at the national assembly and the senate; with more being elected or nominated to the local county assemblies[191]. This was a substantial gain for Kenyan women who despite the constitutional provision that women should constitute at least a third of parliamentary seats; government is yet to pass relevant laws to implement the provision.

In the neighbouring Rwanda, Women participation in governance is laudable. Rwanda has earned the enviable position of being the only country in the world with more female legislators, at 64%.[192] In addition, half the country's supreme court justices are women.

But while Rwanda has made significant progress in mainstreaming women voices and talent in its governance agenda, the country has also experienced political intolerance from the ruling regime, Rwanda Patriotic Front. Following August 2017 polls that President Kagame won by 98%, a top

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[190]Althaus, Frances A. "Female Circumcision: Rite of Passage Or Violation of Rights?" *International Family Planning Perspectives*23, no. 3 (1997): 130-33. doi:10.2307/2950769.

[191]Abdi Latif Dahir and Lily Kuo, "Kenya's election was historic in many ways beyond its presidential contest," Quartz, August 12, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://qz.com/1050209/elections-in-kenya-2017-the-historic-election-of-young-candidates-female-senators-and-governors-in-kenyas-election/.

[192]Jane Dudman, "Lessons from Rwanda's female-run institutions | Jane Dudman," The Guardian, July 01, 2014, , accessed September 29, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jul/01/lessons-rwanda-female-run-institutions-mps.

opposition leader, Diane Shima Rwigara, who was barred from contesting the presidency, was arrested on trump up charges of tax evasion. [193]

A number of African governments only enact laws intended to foster respect to human rights for international relations pitch.[194] In essence, there is no tangible commitment to actualize the legislations. This has given rise to the phenomenon of legislation for legislation's sake; and not to champion any meaningful change in the lives of the citizens as far as democratic governance is concerned.

5.3 Sino African Relations and Democratic Governance in the Continent

As Sino-African relations continue to manifest, the study sought to find out the drivers of this deepening engagement and its impact on the quest for democratic governance in Africa. This section highlights the findings of the study.

5.3.1 Relationship between China and Africa

The respondents were unanimous that Sino-African relations was growing stronger, and manifesting on more than the economic front. The deepening relations have been attributed to a number of factors. At the top of drivers are economic needs. China is offering African countries access to development aid that was hitherto difficult to access.[195] Africa is also a source of raw

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[193]"Rwanda opposition leader taken by police - family," Daily Nation, August 31, 2017, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.nation.co.ke/news/africa/Rwanda-opposition-leader-Diane-Rwigara-arrested/1066-4078346-ifg5eqz/index.html.

[194]Adhere C. Interview with Pamela Sitony, Editor East African, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

[195]Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Joseph Onjala, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

materials that fuel Chinese growing industrial base, while equally offering Chinese finished products a large market. From China, Africa imports a wide range of products including electronics, machineries, apparel, military, and household items. Trade has been the most visible aspect of the relationship, with China currently being the largest trade partner for the continent.[196]

The study also found out that the relations between Africa and China are driven by politics. At the global level, the two entities have supported each other on issues of common interest. For instance, while China has used her relationship with Africa to promote the One China Policy, African leaders have found favour with China in dealing with international institutions like the ICC.[197]

Ideologically, the strategy by China not to interfere in the domestic affairs of African countries has increased Beijing's appeal to African governments. Where China intends to intervene in the continent, for instance through peace keeping and fight against terrorism, it does so through regional and continental frameworks such as IGAD and the African Union. This makes China contribute to Africa's development challenges based on the priorities of individual countries or collective aspirations as reflected in Africa Agenda 2063. [198]

Despite the impressive growth in Sino-African relations, the study found that a major impediment remains cultural disharmony between the two entities. Lack of common language and poor understanding of socio-cultural orientations of the people,[199] is not only impeding government to government collaboration; it is a major hindrance of people to people cooperation

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[196]Piet K. "China and Africa Building a Strategic Partnership." *Journal of Developing Societies*, 23. No.3 (2007): 341-367

[197] Daily Nation. "Daily Nation." China backs African bid to suspend ICC Kenya case. November 04, 2013. Accessed October 21, 2017. http://mobile.nation.co.ke/news/China-backs-African-bid-to-suspend-ICC-Kenya-case/1950946-2060502-format-xhtml-xlmq6q/index.html.

[198] Chris A. "China in Africa." *Journal of Global Politics and Strategy*, 47. No. 3, (2005): 147-164

[199]Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Patrick Maluki, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

To help foster understanding among the two peoples, the study identified operationalization of a number of Confucius Institutes and Chinese Cultural centres in a number of African leading cities such as Nairobi, Durban, Addis Ababa and Lagos. Through these centres, African can learn mandarin and Chinese culture. In addition, the move by Beijing to offer scholarships to African citizens to study in China is aimed at further entrenching Chinese worldview on Africa, as a tool for negotiating china's interests in the continent.

5.3.2 China's policy of non-interference on corruption & violation of human rights in Africa.
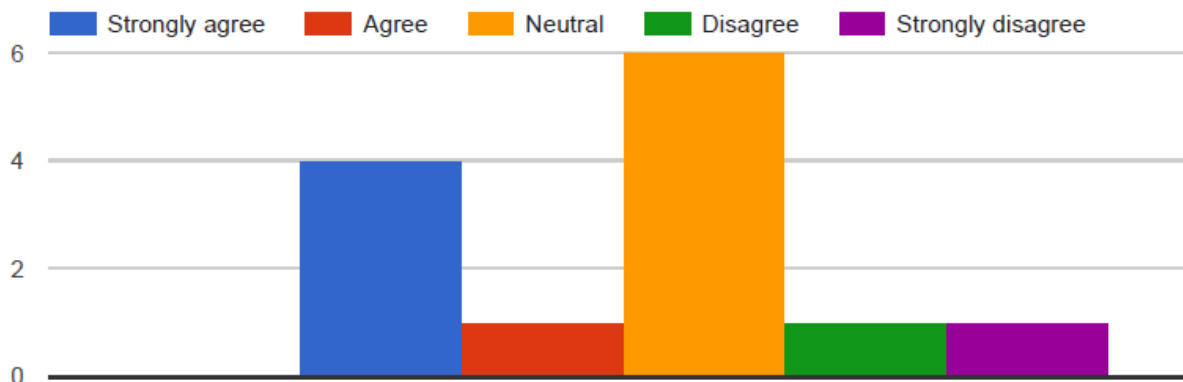
70% of the respondents agreed that China's policy of non-interference in internal affairs of African states could fuel erosion of human rights while promoting vices such as corruption. As major partner of African countries, China has a greater leverage on the conduct of African regimes which could be a basis of calling for respect to human rights and greater accountability and transparency in conduct of public affairs.[200]

The sale of arms to Africa's conflict zones such as South Sudan, Central Africa Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo by China as a having the potential to exercabate the conflict. In

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[200]Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Joseph Onjala, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

addition, Beijing's sale of equipment of torture and other military paraphernalia to African countries could facilitate authoritarian tendencies like crackdown on dissent as witnessed in Uganda over the presidential age limit bill.[201]

Another respondent cited the August polls in Kenya. While China was conspicuously missing from countries that sent observer teams to oversee the elections; the military hardware that were used to suppress demonstrations that followed the polls were sourced from China.

20% of respondents however offered that it is not the responsibility of China to determine the use which African countries put the military hardware/software sourced from Beijing. The arms sales by China to Africa still do not match those from other Western markets. It would therefore be pretentious to only see China's commercial interests as fueling erosion of human rights in the continent.

Lack of transparency surrounding the China-Africa deals, open an avenue for despoliation of public resources. Chinese firms, as will be seen in subsequent section, have been found to engage in corruption and other forms of contract malpractices, leading to some being censored by Africa Development Bank.[202]

The study also revealed that African governments are increasingly investing in lofty projects with high potential for corruption, leaving out priority projects like water, education, health which target the masses. This in in turn leads to increased vicious circle of poverty hence undermining rights.

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[201][201] Interview with Dr. Patrick Maluki, IDIS, University of Nairobi
[202]"AfDB blacklists Chinese construction company," The Chronicle, , accessed September 29, 2017, http://www.chronicle.co.zw/afdb-blacklists-chinese-construction-company/.

5.3.3 The relationship between China and Africa as win-win
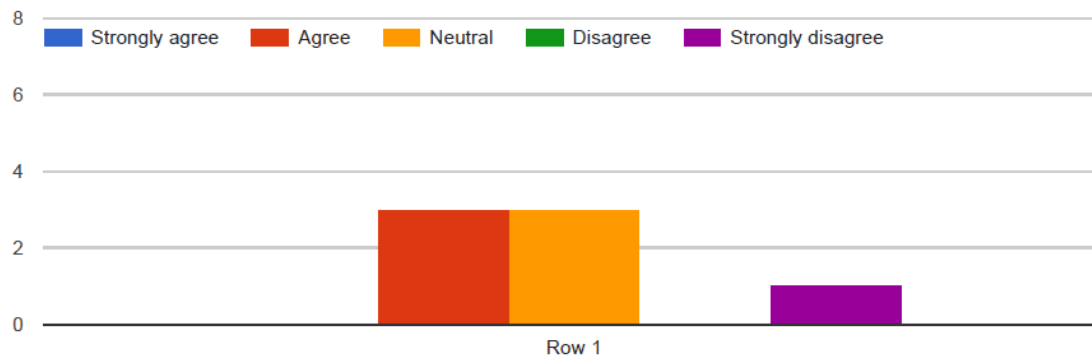
While commerce is central to the relations between China and Africa, the gains are heavily skewed in favour of China. The study revealed that while Africa exports to China, mostly raw materials, at low commodity prices, Beijing continues to export high value finished products to Africa.

In addition, While China has pioneered effective ways of penetrating African markets, the same has not happened for African products to Chinese market.

While China has extended Africa development loans to power development projects, the execution of such projects are often done with Chinese technology and labour; yet the resulting debt is repaid by Africans. There is still limited transfer of technology, knowledge and skills from China to Africa, even as the latter remains an active source of raw materials and cheap labour for Chinese industries.[203]

So while respondents agree that by collaborating with China, African has acquired capacity in various fields, such benefits are viewed as insignificant compared to the benefits that China accrues from the continent.

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[203] An interview with Henry Owuor, Foreign News Editor, Nation Media Group

5.3.4 China offers Africa alternative model of socio-economic and political development
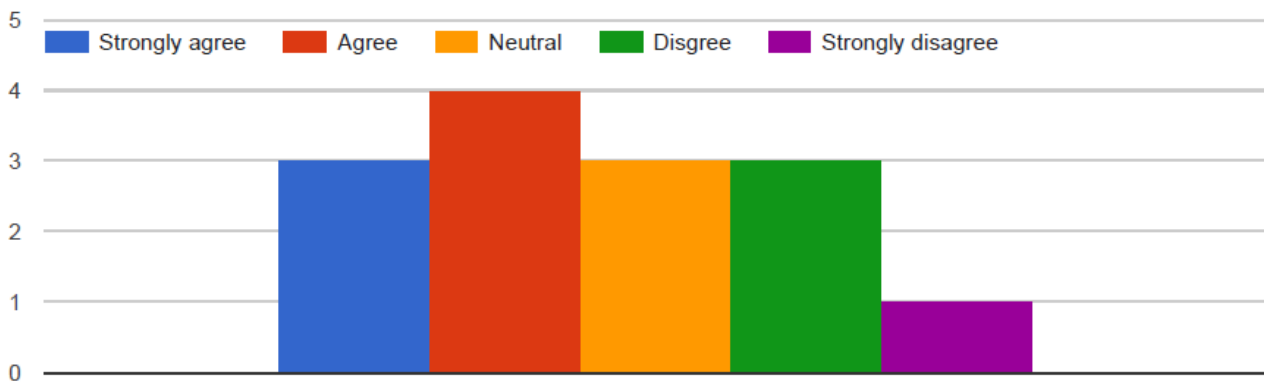
60% of the respondents agreed that China offers Africa an alternative model of socio-economic and political development. On economic terms, this response was predicated on the phenomenal China's rise, lifting millions out of poverty in barely three decades.[204] As Africa' population rises, the continent is in search of sustainable economic models that can create jobs through industrialization, modernize agriculture and improve infrastructure. China has become the factory of the world,[205] and therefore has consolidated important lessons that Africa could borrow from to champion an endogenous process of socio-economic transformation.

China has a long standing history in political party consolidation and order. The ruling party CPC has extensive mechanisms of consolidating power with organized systems that runs to the grassroots.[206] This is in contrast to a number of African countries where party politics is largely formulated around personalities and ethnicity. It is for this reason that a number of political parties in Africa continue to engage with CPC to learn and benchmark on their modes of governance.

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[204]Yao, Shujie. "Economic Development and Poverty Reduction in China over 20 Years of Reforms." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 48, no. 3 (2000): 447-74. doi:10.1086/452606.
[205]Rofel, Lisa. "Rethinking Modernity: Space and Factory Discipline in China." *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 93-114. http://www.jstor.org/stable/656523.

[206]Blanchard, Olivier, and Andrei Shleifer. "Federalism with and without Political Centralization: China Versus Russia." *IMF Staff Papers* 48 (2001): 171-79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4621694.

In addition, while China is not a democracy, the country has formulated working systems and institutions to deals with ills such as corruption, which remains a major challenge in Africa.[207] Chinese system works as far as public good is concerned, and no public official or private citizen can overrun governance frameworks and laws. This is an important area where Africa can learn and benchmark.

One respondent however offered that while China's model could have managed to register huge progress in socio-economic development, its veracity in Africa could be problematic. He identified the differences that exist in various African countries, in terms of ideology, culture, political history, resource endowments as possible impediments to the replication of the Chinese model in Africa.

5.3.5 Chinese are more understanding and easier to do business with compared to other African development partners.

Because of the no strings attached stance by China towards African governments, the study found that China remains a preferred business partner,[208] a fact confirmed by the volumes of trade between the two entities in the last decade. China is now Africa's largest trading partner.

Secondly, Chinese use integrated approach to project implementation in Africa countries. Often, they provide financing, technology, and labour in undertaking projects in Africa. this has reduced the turnaround time for completion of projects, further endearing them to Africa.[209]

On the flip side, 53% of the respondents offered that Chinese companies do not observe domestic rules and regulations on implementation of infrastructure projects. This points to possibilities of improprieties on the side of those awarding the contracts. Corruption by public officials was identified by a respondent as a driver of the deepening Sino-Africa relations, rather than pubic good.

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[207] Interview with Dr. Onjala, Institute of development Studies, University of Nairobi
[208] Interview with Dr. Kagiri, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi
[209] Interview with Dr. Onjala, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi

Indigenous African firms are increasingly leaning towards deal making; acting as brokers between Chinese enterprises and government agencies in project financing and implementation.[210]

Given the cultural difficulties due to lack of common language stifling Sino-African relation as this study grounded, it is therefore possible that it is not that Chinese firms are easier to do business with compared to other development partners of Africa. Intervening variables such as corruption could have major implications on deal making between China and Africa. [211]

5.3.6. China's 'equal partners' policy as anchor of authoritarianism in Africa
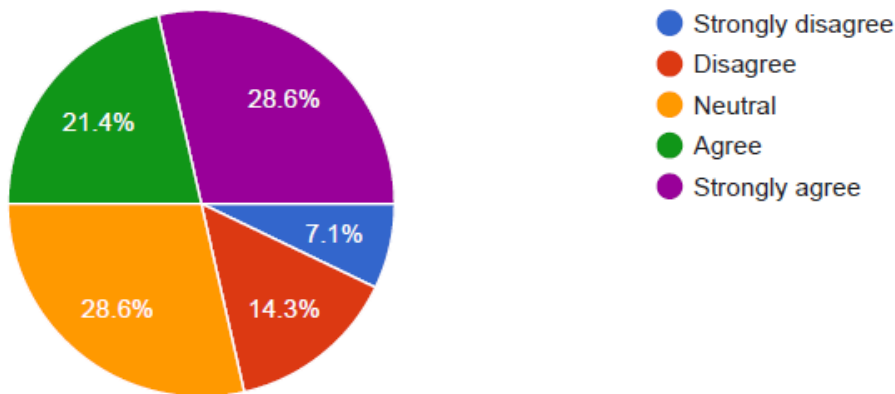
50% of the respondents agreed that the non-intefrence policy by China towards Africa makes it possibe for authoritarian regimes to hold power for longer. The sale of arms to Sudan by China, in the wake of UN sanctions was cited by respndents as an example.

The study also found out that lack of accountability and transparency sorrounding most of the China-Africa deals makes it possible for leaders to abuse public resources with the intention to fortify their grip on power. Respondents cited Sudan, Zimbabwe, South Sudan, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo as countries where despite China's greater leverage to puch for better governance, democratic governance remains a mirage.[212]

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[210] Ibid
[211] Interview with Dr. Muna, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi
[212]Interview with Dr. Onjala, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi

By adopting the see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil strategy towards Africa, China's deal making in the continent could have serious ramifications in democratic consolidation. While the strategy fists self-serving national interests of China and of the recipient African countries, it may end up injuring both parties as rubrics of democratic governance are denigrated.

5.3.7. On China transferring technology and creating jobs in Africa
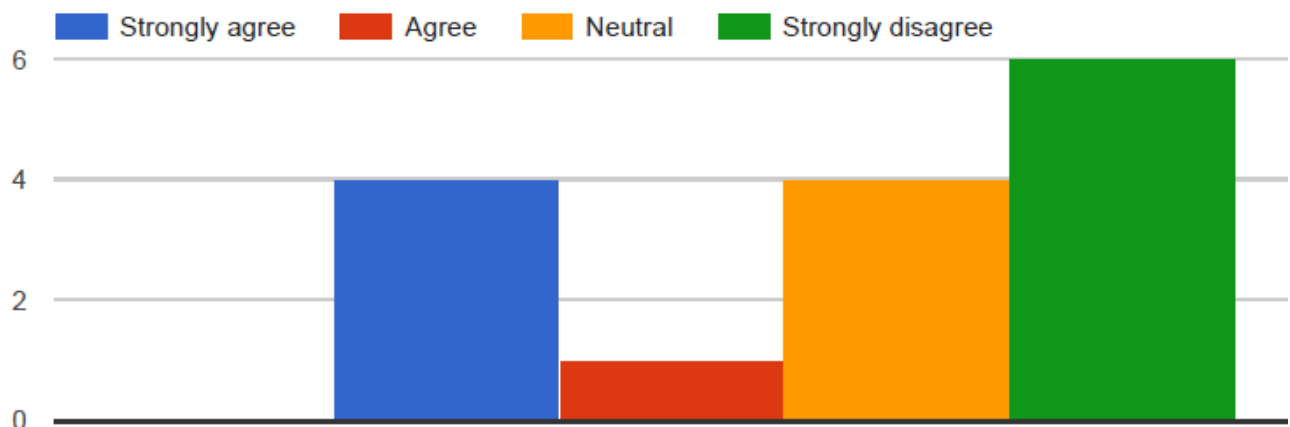
60 % of the respondents believe China is neither transferring technology to nor creating jobs in Africa. Cited in the study is the norm by China to bring along financing, technology and labour to Africa, which are withdrawn at the end of the project. The efficiency with which China implements projects leaves little for African entrepreneurs to benefit from.

Since most of the contracts undertaken by Chinese enterprises in Africa are repaid through exorbitant loans, it is African governments creating jobs for those engaged in Chinese implemented projects, and not China.[213]

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[213] Interview with Henry Owuor, Foreign News Editor, Nation Media Group

Chapter Summary

From the study findings, the relations between China and Africa is indeed getting stronger and is actualized in a number of domains including: trade, military, peace, political and ideological and cultural spheres. As captured in the objective of the study, the rise of China and its deepening partnership with Africa present a number of challenges to the practice and consolidation of democratic governance and respect of human rights in the continent.

China's policy of noninterference in internal affairs of African states presents a loophole for authoritarian regimes to engage in violations of human rights without worrying about international sanctions, which have acted as deterrents in the past.

Secondly, China's lack of transparency in its engagement in continent can fuel vices such as corruption by public officials in the continent. This is in line with findings that a number of indigenous African firms have resorted to deal making with Chinese counterparts in undertaking infrastructural developments in various parts of the continent. This has the potential to erode prospects for local capacity building in scientific and technological arena.

On the other hand, China's contribution to Africa in terms of trade, investments, human capital development as well as proving a good example in the fight against corruption; all provide important basis of the democratic practice in Africa.

According to the findings, China is not the only impediment to democratic governance in the continent. Other factors such as personal rule, negative ethnicity, poverty, corruption and terrorism also affect democratic governance and respect of human rights in the continent.

findings have confirmed the hypotheses that guided the study as drawn from the objectives and questions. The findings also fit within the Marxist theory that was the main analytical tool employed in the study.

Finally, from the findings, the research problem can now be answered. China's activities in Africa has the potential to roll back democratic gains already consolidate in the continent. As Beijing tightens its grip on Africa, it is critical that all players both national, regional and global, continue to press for adequate and sustainable frameworks, institutions, practices and laws that can effectively respond to the potential of China in promoting undemocratic ideals and values in Africa.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction

This final chapter presents conclusions; and policy and academic recommendations arising out of the findings on the challenges to democratic governance in 21st Century Africa;

6.3 Conclusions

This study was informed by three main objectives. Besides seeking to determine factors shaping democratic governance in Africa in the 21st Century, including the role and impact of China's activities, policies towards the continent; it also sought to determine the drivers of Sino-Africa relations.

On the quality of democracy in the Africa, the study findings indicate that the continent is still struggling with the realization of democratic governance and respect to human rights; despite existence of various frameworks, bodies and legislations at national, regional and global levels. This fledgling observation of democratic ideals in the continent is hoisted by a number of factors. Negative ethnicity; in which leaders tend to use ethnic balkanization as a bargaining chip while seeking power, leads to a feeling of a winner take it all among the losing groupings. The net effect is animosity, division and hatred among the populace. This works against national interests to enhance, peace, stability and holistic socio-economic development of a country.

Democracy and respect of human rights in a number of African countries is also challenged by corruption; despoliation of public resources, denying citizens critical services as well as use of

bribing voters or citizens to achieve personal ends which do not auger well with overriding public good. Softer forms of graft such as electoral manipulation is fairly common in Africa, as was witnessed with the August 2017 Kenyan elections. Where such manipulations succeed, citizens are denied a right to be represented by leaders of choice; making it impossible for transformative visionaries to assume office. Coupled with widespread and endemic poverty, many citizens in the continent are manipulated to support certain political ends or are due to ill health and illiteracy, incapacitated to hold leaders to account.

In the wake of terrorism, a number of civil liberties and freedoms have been stifled by the state. Government interventions have led to citizens denied fundamental freedoms of association, speech, and movement. African governments have taken advantage of the legal lacuna to arrest, detain and torture citizens under the guise of fighting terrorism in the continent. Terrorism as well, denies people livelihoods, kills, injures while creating ungovernable spaces where democratic ideals cannot prosper like in Somalia and parts of Nigeria.

The phenomenon of personal rule or autocratic regimes keen to stay in power, contrary to the provisions of constitutional demands remains a significant affront to democratic governance in Africa. Countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda have all experienced constitutional manipulations to allow incumbents stay longer in power with devastating consequences as was seen in Burundi.

It is important for African countries to best muster foreign intervention towards democratic governance. While foreign intervention remains a veritable aspect of international relations, the study has revealed, that unless properly managed, it can lead to erosion of democratic practice and consolidation in the continent.

Africa's relations with China, for instance, has had both positive and negative impacts on democratic governance in the continent. While Beijing's policy of non-interference in internal

affairs of African countries has the potential of entrenching authoritarianism in the continent, China's activities in Africa in the economic, military, and peace domains have greatly contributed to Africa's development, a desirable output of democratic governance.

Foreign intervention through support of both government and non-state actors such as civil society has had significant contribution to democratic governance – voter sensitization and registration; private litigations, and external accountability frameworks, among others.

Even though trade remains the most visible aspect of the relationship between Africa and China, the partnership has been deepening on a number of other fronts: political, ideological and peace and security.

While benefits accrue to both China and Africa in the blossoming partnership, China is the main beneficiary. This calls for new strategies on the side of African leaders to make the best out of the relationship for socio-economic and political development of the continent.

As encapsulated in the Marxist view of international relations and domestic organizing, democracy in Africa remains largely a function of dominant forces and the struggle for emancipation of the underprivileged. From negative ethnicity that allows certain ethnic groups to load a sense of privilege on the others; to large masses remaining under the control of the rich few, the struggle for better governance in Africa is waged alongside binary forces.

Within the foreign intervention matrix, the study reveals that China has rolled out a panoply of policy innovations that allows it to attract and retain partners in Africa. As the study revealed, however, the relations between China and Africa remains heavily skewed in favour of China in many of the examined parameters. China is using both national and international frameworks and institutions to buoy its grip on Africa while advancing its interest; irrespective of the gains that accrue to Africa, in the process.

6.4 Recommendations

This study has revealed pertinent findings on the challenges to democratic governance in the 21st Century Africa. This section, which is executed in two parts: namely academic and policy recommendations, draws insights from the study findings and presents some action plans that could be adopted to strengthen democratic governance in the continent.

6.4.1 Policy recommendations

The study revealed that Africa has benefitted from the relationship with China. The Chinese investments in the continent in the areas of consequence such as trade, infrastructure, agriculture, and energy, in addition to trade and human capital development, have significant bearing on the continent's socio-economic transformation. It is therefore important for African actors to further firm up the collaboration with china and target more avenues with maximum impact such as education, healthcare, and water provision.

Given China's power and global influence, individual African countries cannot effectively engage Beijing. For greater impact and leverage, African countries need collective strategies to engage and sustainably benefit from relations with China. For example, as Africa opens up to Chinese investments and finished products, so should China be more open to African products, services and labour. This can be achieved through ratification of strategic and thematic statutes.

Africa should not neglect domestic sectors where China offers easy alternatives. In the infrastructure development and energy sectors for example, African countries should enhance local capacity by insisting on functional and sustainable technology transfer and skills development.

On the governance front, China has developed functional institutions and laws that Africa could learn from. In the case of corruption and other forms of public office abuse, China has stiff penalties,

something that African economies can benchmark from to strengthen local institutions and legislations.

While China remains the first non-western, non-democratic country to accumulate current economic and political fortunes, the obtaining internal conditions in the country vary widely from domestic dynamics of African countries. This calls for caution in the overwhelming enthusiasm with which African countries either individually or collectively are courting China. Collaborations should pay special attention to the dynamics, interests and capacities of African countries for long term sustainability of Sino-African relations.

Africa should leverage existing platforms such as FOCAC to further consolidate its partnership with China, identifying key priority areas that will most impact the lives of African populations. Such synergistic approach will ensure the fruits of engagement with China is widely shared among African countries; and not just those that present the most desirable indicators of collaborations such resource-rich countries.

Through multilateral settings such as the African Union, Africa should push China to use its growing leverage and demand for governance systems that promotes peace, stability and development in African countries. Such a move will translate to a two-fold benefit to the continent. First, since domestic turmoil can lead to inter-state or even regional conflict, calling for progressive frameworks of governance will consolidate internal stability; which feeds onto regional and global peace and stability. Secondly, by promoting peace and stability in African countries, China will have paid the premium for its investments and long term interests in various African countries.

Since Sino –African relations, as currently operationalized, is largely dependent on state frameworks, people to people interactions remain low. There is therefore need to scale up efforts towards interpersonal and intercultural understanding and appreciation among Africans and the Chinese. Promotion of common languages is instrumental in this endeavor. This can be actualized

through strengthening and demystification of Chinese cultural centres and Confucius institutes in Africa. Additional effort to afford more Africans opportunities to study and do business in China and with Chinese are encouraged.

It is not up to China to determine what use African regimes put military and police equipment purchased from Beijing. Africa leaders and people must engender internal governance mechanisms that guarantees effective separation of powers, fidelity to the rule of law and respect to human rights. It is only through strengthening internal democratic frameworks and mechanisms that African countries will be in apposition to temper the excesses of the state in a manner that preserves peace, stability and rule of law.

Finally, China must begin to appreciate the fact that sustainability of its engagements in Africa rests solidly in the capacity of different African societies to engender peace, stability and development. This eventuality, which rests on actualization of democratic governance should inform China's foreign policy towards Africa.

6.4.2 Academic Recommendations

As an academic inquiry, this research only focused on the role and impact of China's activities, policies and demeanor on the practice and consolidation of democratic governance in 21st Century Africa. Consequently, there remains a number of important areas and manifestations of Sino-African relations that should interest academic inquiry. Such areas that should attract attention to further discourse within the realm of international relations include:

➢ Perception of ordinary Chinese on their government activities in Africa.

➢ The place and role of Africa in China's global military strategy.

Secondly, none of the dominant IR theories could adequately inform the study on Sino-African relations with respect to democratic governance. It is therefore important for scholars of international relations to pay special attention to theory building; in order to elucidate and possibly develop new theories that can adequately account for the nuanced features of Sino-African relations.

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INTERVIEWS

Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Patrick Maluki, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Joseph Onjala, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Muna Wilson, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017

Adhere C. Interview with Dr. Robert Kagiri, Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

Adhere C. Interview with Pamela Sitony, Editor East African, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

Adhere C. Interview with Henry Owuor, Foreign Affairs Editor, Nation Media group, Nairobi. Nairobi, August 2017.

Challenges to Democratic Governance in the 21st Century Africa: Role of China

1. Could you kindly share your thoughts on the state of Africa's democratic governance?

2. In your view, what challenges face Africa in consolidating democratic governance.

3. Could you identify some of the national, regional and global frameworks/institutions which have contributed to enhancing democratic governance in Africa?

4. How much is foreign meddling and influence a factor in Africa's democratic aspirations

5. To what extent do African governments respect and preserve human rights as provided for by the International Bill of Human Rights?

6. China's relationship with Africa is deepening. Can you identify some of the drivers of this relationship?

7. How do you assess China's presence in Africa and its impact on the practice of democratic governance in the continent?

8. How is China's rise and global influence likely to impact the global norms and institutions of governance and human rights?

9. China is fronting what it refers to as democracy (none interference in internal affairs of African stat) and development in its foreign policy towards Africa. How is this model likely to impact on democratic governance in the continent?

10. What should African governments and citizens do to safeguard the practice and consolidation of democratic governance and respect to human rights in its dealings with partners such as China?